

SIRI S. K. PATIL

RECEPTION COMMITTEE
TO CELEBRATE
THE 65th BIRTHDAY
OF
Shri S. K. PATIL



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CERTIFICATE OF REGISTRATION

It is hereby certified that the Public Trust described below has this day been duly registered under the Bombay Public Trusts Act, 1950 (Bom. XXIX of 1950), at the Public Trusts Registration Office.....Greater Bombay Region.....

Name of Public Trust: Sbri S. K. Patil Public Trust

Number in the Register of Public Trusts : E-3026 Bom.

Certificate issued to : Sbri Bhawanji A. Khimji

Given under my hand, this 3rd day of July, 1965.

Signature (Sd./-)

DEPUTY CHARITY COMMISSIONER

GREATER BOMBAY REGION

BOMBAY.

INCOME-TAX EXEMPTION CERTIFICATE

NO. BRC/Sec. 88 & 100/CH-496P/65-66

Office of the
Income-tax Officer,
Bombay Refund Circle,
Bombay.
July 23, 1965.

CERTIFICATE

I hereby certify

- (1) that Shri S. K. Patil Public Trust,
NKM. International House,
178, Backbay Reclamation,
Bombay I.

is an Institution/a Fund established in the taxable territories for a charitable purpose.

- (2) that it satisfies the requirements of Section 88 & 100 of the Income-tax Act, 1961.

and

- (3) that any sum within prescribed limits paid by any assessee as donation to the aforesaid Institution/Fund will be exempt under sub-section 1 of Section 88 & 100 of the Income-tax Act, 1961.

THIS CERTIFICATE IS VALID UPTO 31.3.66 FROM 22.7.65 OR
UNTIL SUCH DATE AS IT IS CANCELLED BY ME, WHICHEVER
IS EARLIER.

ISSUED UNDER MY SEAL AND SIGNATURE.

SEAL

Of the Income-Tax Officer,
Bombay Refund Circle,
Bombay.

(Sd./-)

1st INCOME-TAX OFFICER,
BOMBAY REFUND CIRCLE, BOMBAY.

'Expression of our sense of gratitude to Shri S. K. Patil'



Shri Babubhai M. Chinai, M.P., made the following observations before an assembly of friends from social, political, economic and cultural spheres who attended a meeting on the 13th July, 1965 at the

Committee Room of the Indian Merchants' Chamber, on the occasion of the formation of the Reception Committee to celebrate the 65th birthday of Shri S. K. Patil.

"I am indeed very thankful to you friends, for having responded to my invitation at such a short notice. A number of friends, drawn from various spheres of our civic life—social, political, economic and cultural,—suggested that a Reception should be arranged in honour of Shri S. K. Patil on the occasion of his 65th birthday.

I need not recount here the unique position which Shri S. K. Patil occupies in the national life today. His contribution to the civic life has been of abiding character and he had the unique distinction of having been elected as the Mayor of the Bombay Municipal Corporation successively for three terms. His role as a freedom fighter and the consequent terms of imprisonment are too well known. On the attainment of independence, he has distinguished himself in various ministerial offices held from time to time.

It is therefore to express our sense of appreciation and gratitude to Shri Patil that we propose to constitute a Reception Committee of leading citizens to celebrate his 65th birthday which falls on the 14th August, 1965, in a befitting manner.

Birthday Reception

On the 13th August, a Reception will be held in honour of Shri S. K. Patil at the Taj Mahal Hotel. On the evening of the 14th August, a "birthday felicitation souvenir" containing messages and articles from various leaders on the several facets of the life and work of Shri Patil will be presented to him at the Bhulabhai Desai Auditorium, which will be followed by a cultural programme of eminent artistes.

This is as far as the Birthday Reception is concerned.

Shri S. K. Patil Hall

We can show our fitting appreciation of Shri Patil's meritorious services on an enduring basis only if we can create some institution. It is proposed, in this context, to put up a Hall in his name

at the Congress House, Vithalbhaj Patil Road, which will be declared open by the Congress President, Shri Kamaraj, on the 14th August.

A Public Trust

Secondly, a charitable Trust known as "Shri S. K. Patil Public Trust" has been constituted with the object of providing educational facilities and medical relief to the poor. For your information I may add that Shri Dharamsey M. Khatau, Shri Bhawanji A. Khimji, Shri S. L. Kirloskar, Shri Naval H. Tata and myself are the Trustees of this Trust. Our intention is to collect Rs. 10 lakhs for this Trust. We have been already promised Rs. 5 lakhs and we have no doubt that the balance of Rs. 5 lakhs would also be collected very shortly. Incidentally I may mention that this Trust is duly registered with the Charity Commissioner and Income-tax Exemption Certificate will also be obtained from the Bombay Refund Circle, very shortly.

Proposal for Planetarium

Thirdly, there is a proposal made by several friends, that, a Planetarium should be put up at a prominent place in the City, in the name of Shri Patil. This proposal will be put through if necessary assistance is forthcoming from friends in the United States of America and other Foundations such as Rockefeller Foundation and the Ford Foundation, whom we propose to approach. This project is estimated to cost Rs. 50 lakhs, out of which Machinery and equipment alone would cost Rs. 30 lakhs. It is hoped that a suitable land would be made available either by the Government or by the Corporation for this purpose.

In this way, we could associate Shri Patil's name with the Planetarium which will be a fitting tribute to the great services rendered by Shri Patil to the city as well as to the country. No doubt, it will also be an added source of attraction for all those who come from far and near to our great city of which Shri S. K. Patil has been the acknowledged leader and representative for over three decades.

*'I wish you many more years of active life in
the service of our country.'*



Service with Success

It gives me much pleasure to learn that on the occasion of Shri S. K. Patil's 65th birthday a Public Trust known as 'Shri S. K. Patil Public Trust' is going to be constituted in Bombay and that a souvenir is also going to be brought out.

Entering the Congress in his early twenties, Shri Patil underwent imprisonment on a number of occasions in our National movement. He has been a member of the Working Committee and the All-India Congress Committee for many years. He was elected Mayor of Bombay for three consecutive terms, a unique honour done to him, indeed. Shri Patil has served the country in various capacities with great success. Shri Patil has been doing a lot for ameliorating the conditions of the masses. Therefore it is in the fitness of things that a charity trust is being constituted after his name for the benefit of the poor.

I wish Shri Patil many more years of active life in the service of our country.

V. P. NAIK
Chief Minister, Maharashtra
President, Reception Committee

SHRI PATIL

LEADER OF LEADERS

SHRI M. MADHAVAN,

Mayor of Bombay

Co-chairman, Reception Committee

I am one of those fortunate ones to have had an opportunity to come in personal contact and work with Shri Patil during the days of our freedom struggle. It is, therefore, a privilege to join in this Tribute to my respected leader Shri Patil, whose 65th birthday is being celebrated in Bombay, by his friends and admirers.

A member of the Municipal Corporation for nearly 17 years from 1935 to 1952 and the Mayor of this premier Metropolis for three successive terms i.e., from 1949 to 1952 Shri Patil has been the guiding spirit of the Corporation and continues to command respect from all Sections of the House even now. The distinction of occupying the Mayo-

ral Chair for a consecutive period of three years after Sir Pherozeshah Mehta went to this dynamic personality whose career as the Councillor and the Mayor has been a glorious chapter in the history of Local Self-Government in Bombay. The tact and understanding displayed by Shri Patil while presiding over the deliberations of the Corporation, the precise and appropriate rulings given by him and the ease and confidence with which he tackled numerous civic problems has been a beacon light to many of us till this day. These bear an eloquent testimony to his intimate knowledge of civic problems and parliamentary Law and Procedure.

His services to this city in other spheres are equally great. Calm and cool in disposition, dynamic in action, imaginative in thought, Shri Patil—a versatile genius—made his mark as a great organiser of uncommon merit and unremitting energies and has left the impress of his personality on a number of organisations in the City, especially, the Congress organisation in Bombay which owes much to his devoted services. In fact Bombay and Shri Patil are inseparable.

As has been truly observed by some veterans, "from journalism to politics, from films to almost all the cultural activities of the nation, from the championship of the common man to the chieftdom of the State Congress, from the Mayoralty of Bombay to the Ministership in the Union Cabinet—he has practically covered all walks of life in India serving each interest sincerely and devotedly." A born leader, he has emerged as the Leader of Leaders. Shri Patil has many shining facets—a politician, an orator, who spell-binds any audience, big or small, an organiser, a writer, and a social worker. His intense humanism, striking dynamism, flaming patriotism, boldness and foresight, quick grasp, transcendent idealism, glowing optimism, and placid internationalism have made him one of the outstanding personalities of our times. Truly age cannot dim, nor custom obscure his infinite variety.

On the occasion of the celebration of his 65th birthday, as the Mayor of Bombay and on behalf of the over four million citizens of this premier metropolis in India, whom Shri Patil has served so well for over 45 years, I pray God that He may grant him good health and long life to continue his useful services to our country in the years ahead.

A word of thankfulness

The 14th of August 1965 will be celebrated as the 65th Birthday of Shri S. K. Patil.

It has been a life full of memorable and glorious achievements. The record of his service in the country's freedom struggle and his achievements in the post-independence period in various responsible Ministerial positions occupied by him will be remembered by all. He has been the acknowledged leader of this great cosmopolitan City of Bombay and had the unique distinction of having been elected as Mayor for three consecutive terms. A number of charitable institutions in the City and elsewhere, noted for their social and philanthropic work, owe their existence to Shri S. K. Patil who continues to give his active guidance and support in the midst of his ministerial and other activities. It is in the fitness of things that he should be felicitated on his 65th Birthday and the citizens of this great city should express their sense of gratitude for and appreciation of the services rendered by him to the country. On this auspicious occasion we pay our respects to Shri S. K. Patil and wish him many more years of service to our motherland.

This Souvenir is published as part of the 65th Birthday celebrations.

On behalf of the Trustees of "Shri S. K. Patil Public Trust" and the Reception Committee constituted to celebrate Shri Patil's Birthday, I most heartily thank Shri Kamrajji, Congress President, for accepting our invitation to preside over this felicitation function and present the Souvenir to Shri S. K. Patil; Shri V. P. Naik, Chief Minister, Maharashtra State, who acceded to our request to be the President of the Reception Committee, the Co-Chairmen, the Office Bearers and Members of the Reception Committee who have helped to make this function successful.

I am also grateful to all who have readily responded to send Messages and Articles and to Shri S. K. Patil in particular who accepted our request to write a rambling account of himself for this Souvenir and to numerous friends and well-wishers who have given us their spontaneous support by way of advertisements, donations and otherwise.

A word of appreciation is due to the Joint Honorary Secretaries of the Reception Committee, Shri C. L. Ghevala, Secretary, Indian Merchants' Chamber and Prof. Madhukar R. Randeria, Director, Shri Brihad Bharatiya Samsj for their labour of love for editing and compiling this Souvenir.

Bamnai. M. Chavai

OUR THANKS TO THOSE WHO GUIDED US IN OUR LABOUR OF LOVE

We deem it a pleasure and a privilege to have been entrusted with the work of compiling Shri S. K. Patil 65th Birthday Felicitation Souvenir. The work has been amply rewarding. The articles and messages published in this Souvenir amply testify to the national stature of Shri S. K. Patil and the abundance of love and high esteem in which he is held by people at large, not only in our country, but in distant lands too.

In the task we had undertaken, we have been greatly indebted to Shri Babubhai M. Chinai and Shri Bhawanjibhai A. Khimji for their valuable guidance and suggestions, and ready co-operation at all stages.

We must, on this occasion, express our feeling of thankfulness to the Hon. Speaker, Lok Sabha for his kind permission to reproduce the speech of Shri S. K. Patil from the Lok Sabha Debates; Bombay Municipal Corporation for permission to reproduce from the proceedings of a Corporation Meeting; Mr. Welles Hangen for his ready permission from London, to reproduce some portions from his interesting book "After Nehru, Who?"; Bombay Pradesh Congress Committee; Shri Brihad Bharatiya Samaj; Indian Merchants' Chamber; The Times of India; The Saurashtra Trust and The Sevika; for making available to us useful material for this souvenir and to all other friends who have directly or indirectly given their voluntary and willing assistance to us in our work.

COMPILERS' NOTE

C. L. GHEEVALA
MADHUKAR R. RANDERIA

Finally, we must make a mention of our friends of the Associated Advertisers and Printers who have all along extended fullest co-operation to us and have treated this job with a certain amount of personal sentiment.

They all wish
him
many happy returns



*May you gather lovely memories,
Into your heart's green bowers;
And live your yesterdays again
With all their golden hours !*

A Birthday Wish

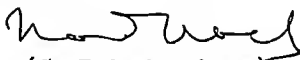
Just a word to let you know,
That I remember you.
The old old wish is still the same,
Although the day is new....
The Same old greeting every year;
There's nothing I can add,
May this birthday prove to be
The best you've ever had.
In this troubled world of ours
Things change from day to day--
But Love, the best of all, remains;
And so once more I say--
God be with you--From my heart
This wish I would express;
May the coming year be--
One of peace and happiness.

Datience Strong

A noteworthy record of public service




I am happy to associate myself with the many friends and admirers of Shri S. K. Patil who have decided to celebrate his 65th birthday. The record of Shri Patil's public service is noteworthy; and I send my best wishes to him for many more years of useful work.


(S. Radhakrishnan)

President of India

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I am glad to know that you will be celebrating Shri S. K. Patil's birthday on the 14th August. I wish your function success. It is my devout wish and prayer that Shri S. K. Patil may be spared for many more years of service to the country.


Vice-President of India

A friend & a valued colleague



On the auspicious occasion of the 65th birthday of Shri S. K. Patil, I want to convey to him my warmest felicitations and good wishes. Shri Patil has served the country in various capacities for several decades now. He holds an important and distinguished position both in the Government and in the Organisation. He is a friend and a valued colleague and I want to wish him many happy returns and many more years of useful service to the country.

Lal Bahadur
(Lal Bahadur)

Prime Minister of India

ALL INDIA CONGRESS COMMITTEE

7, JANTAR MANTAR RO.
NEW DELHI-1

No

August 9, 1965

It gives me great pleasure to associate myself with the public organisations and friends who have joined together to felicitate Shri S. K. Patil, Union Minister for Railways, on the occasion of his 65th birthday, which falls on the eve of our country's Independence Day.

On this auspicious occasion nothing could be more appropriate than to recall Shri Patil's services to the country and the nation both before and after Independence. Educated in Bombay and London, Shri S. K. Patil like many other educated young men of this country, could not resist being attracted to the freedom movement at a time when under the dynamic leadership of Gandhiji it was beginning to take a new turn in the twenties of this century. Shri Patil has suffered for the cause of his country and has undergone several terms of imprisonment. But he has had the satisfaction of seeing a part of his dream being fulfilled. Today, Shri Patil is engaged in making the remaining part of his dream come true- the dream of establishing in India a social order based on equality and social justice.

Shri Patil is not only a colleague but also a trusted personal friend. On this occasion I would like to pay my tributes to Shri Patil's ability as a brilliant organiser of men and things.

I hope that he will continue to live well beyond the biblical age of four score and ten and would be able to see in his life time the emergence of a new India inspired by the ideals of Tagore, Gandhi and Nehru in the realisation of which Shri Patil has played so prominent a role.

I wish him a happy birthday and also many happy returns of the day.

K. KAMARAJ

*My colleague's dynamic personality is known
for his varied interests*

On his 65th birthday I am happy to send my greetings to my colleague Shri S. K. Patil. His dynamic personality is known for his varied interests. Everyone, who has come in touch with him, is familiar with his sense of humour. He has organising capacity of a high order. I wish him many happy returns of the day and a long healthy life in the service of the nation. It is a happy idea to celebrate his 65th birthday by establishing a trust for charitable purposes and generally for promoting projects of public utility.

G. L. NANDA
Home Minister, India

★

*He is still young and robust in spirit; I pay
my respects to him on this occasion*

I am glad that a Committee of leading citizens has been formed to celebrate the 65th birthday of Shri S. K. Patil. He is one of the dynamic figures of Indian politics and I consider it a privilege that I have been associated with him in the field of organisation and administration for about a decade.

Shri Patil has spent most of his political life in Bombay. With his fine organisational capacity, he has carved out a special position for himself. He has supported many good causes in the educational and cultural fields. Shri Patil has a large circle of friends and is a patron of many important institutions in Bombay. He has always taken a keen interest in the civic affairs of Bombay City and has had the unique honour of being chosen as the Mayor on three successive occasions.

Shri Patil at the age of 65 is still young and robust in spirit and serves the country with zeal and energy. I pay my respects to him on this occasion of his 65th birthday and wish him many more years of service to the country.

Y. B. CHAVAN
Minister of Defence, India.

I am happy to learn that you are celebrating the 65th birthday of Sri S. K. Patil. Sri S. K. Patil has been a front-rank Congress leader for the last three decades. His record of service and dynamic activity have always attracted the attention of the whole country. Let us all wish him long life and much more useful service in the years to come.

N. SANJIVA REDDY
Minister of Steel & Mines,
India

★

I am glad to learn that you propose to celebrate on an appropriate scale the Sixtyfifth Birthday of Shri S. K. Patil.

Sadoba Patil has proved to be one of the outstanding leaders in India and has risen to great heights through ability and hard work. His capacity for organisation and his freedom from narrow parochial feelings have won him recognition throughout India and earned him the friendship and admiration of people from all parts of the country. He is a true servant of the public and has combined political work with social service of a high order. He has always taken a keen interest in Indians overseas and it is fitting and proper that on his Sixtyfifth Birthday, a Public Trust should be established for providing educational and medical facilities to poor and deserving students and helping other charitable institutions in promoting policies of general public utility.

I have great pleasure in offering him my tribute and affectionate regards on this happy occasion.

HUMAYUN KABIR
Minister for Petroleum and Chemicals,
India

★

I am glad to know that to mark the occasion of the 65th birthday of Shri S. K. Patil you are constituting a "Shri S. K. Patil Public Trust" for philanthropic work. I wish you all success in your venture. I also send my good wishes for many returns of this happy day to Shri S. K. Patil.

T. N. SINGH
Minister of Industry, India

I have known Shri S. K. Patil for the last forty years when he was an Assistant Editor of the Bombay Chronicle and I was a struggling member of the Bar. In those days we worked together to spread the message of nationalism to different sections of our country. Since then he and I have been associated with many causes and have appeared together on many platforms. We also share our great love for the city of Bombay of which he was a distinguished Mayor. He always brought dynamism to bear upon any matter which he has taken up. Whether one always agrees with his views or not, one always admires his bonhomie, his loyalty to his friends and his wonderful imperturbability.

M. C. CHAGLA
Minister for Education, India

★

I am extremely happy to note that you are celebrating the 65th birthday of my colleague, Shri S. K. Patil, on the 14th August 1965. I wish him many many happy returns of the day and hope he would continue to lead our country for a long time.

D. SANJIVAYYA
Minister for Labour and Employment,
India.

★

I am happy to associate myself with the celebrations to felicitate Mr. S. K. Patil on his 65th birthday which falls on the 14th of August 1965. Apart from his great services to the city of Bombay and to the nation, I am privileged to consider Mr. Patil a very good friend, upon whom I can call at all times and who never fails to do his best for me. In particular, I would like to place on record his invaluable cooperation with me and the Christian community on the occasion of the XXXVIII International Eucharistic Congress held in Bombay in November-December 1964, which served to present to the world the true picture of our secular State.

I wish Mr. Patil long life and ever greater achievements in the service of the country. Ad Multos Annos !

VALERIAN CARDINAL GRACIAS
Archbishop of Bombay

I am very glad to hear that on the occasion of the 65th birthday of Shri S. K. Patil a high power committee is being formed, the object of the committee being to institute a public trust for giving relief to the poor and also provide educational and medical facilities. In addition to this, charitable institutions also will receive donations from this fund.

I have the privilege of knowing Shri S. K. Patil for over fifteen years. The first occasion I met him was in 1950 when I visited Bombay during his Mayoralty. I was then the Mayor of Madras, and his hospitality towards me was very magnanimous. I could then see what a wonderful and effective person Shri S. K. Patil is. There is hardly any position of importance or dignity which he has not occupied in the Congress organisation. Whatever position he has held, he has left his mark. He is at present one of our very effective Ministers, a great orator and a man of very many magnanimous qualities. Both my wife and I have received great kindnesses from him for which we are grateful to him.

Mr. Patil, I feel, is one of the greatest citizens of India whose services must always be utilised for the benefit of our country. There is hardly any charitable or other worthy organisation in Bombay with which he is not connected. This shows his charity and his keenness to serve the people of Maharashtra State. I hope he will continue his useful work for the benefit of our country for very many years to come.

I have the greatest pleasure in sending this message for the souvenir which will be published on his 65th birthday.

P. V. CHERIAN
Governor of Maharashtra

★

I am glad that you are bringing out a Souvenir to mark the 65th Birthday of my esteemed friend, Shri S. K. Patil. Shri Patil, an eminent patriot of great reputation has been one of the builders of the Congress movement and as an Administrator he has played his part for the economic and social progress of our country. His dynamism and optimism are proverbial and he works with a spirit of dedication to the cause. I had the privilege of knowing him for a long time, and I have enjoyed his friendship quite intimately. On this occasion I wish him many more years of fruitful career so that he can continue to render his services to the cause of our motherland.

V. V. GIRI
Governor of Mysore

I am happy to know that the 65th birthday of Shri S. K. Patil, Union Minister for Railways, which falls on the 14th August, is proposed to be celebrated in a fitting manner. I offer my greetings to him on the occasion and wish him many happy returns of the day.

JAYA CHAMARAJA WADIYAR
Governor of Madras

★

I am glad to know that the 65th birthday of Shri S. K. Patil, Union Minister for Railways, which comes off on the 14th August 1965, will be celebrated in a befitting manner.

Shri Patil is well known as an able fighter in our Country's freedom struggle, a great administrator and statesman and an outstanding organiser.

I wish him many more returns of this happy birthday.

A. N. KHOSLA
Governor of Orissa.

★

I am delighted to learn that my good old friend, Sri S. K. Patil, is completing his 65th year. Days glide so quick that I hardly thought that this young valiant soldier of freedom, so soon, becomes a man of 65 years. I am happy, however, that he still carries with him the same patriotic fervour, abundant energy and balanced outlook. It is my prayer that he continue to enjoy them for long years to come. Let me equally hope that the sponsorere of this Public Trust will do well to raise necessary and handsome resources, consistent with the reputation and dignity of the premier city of Bombay, so famous for charities, to enable the Trust to be able to maintain, always a band of workers to devote themselves to the service of the nation, free from political ambitions, satisfying their necessities of life out of the resources of the Trust.

BISWANATH DAS
Governor, Uttar Pradesh

★

Shri Patil has been a prominent figure in the Indian political field for the last several decades. Even those who may have occasion to differ from him will bear testimony to his resourcefulness and energy. He has given ample proof of those qualities both as a Congress leader and an administrator. The idea to establish a Trust in his honour is definitely attractive and I hope the suggestion will meet with the public support which it merits.

SAMPURNANAND
Governor, Rajasthan

Shri S. K. Patil will be sixty-five years of age next August. He has been a leading political figure for almost thirty years and has held high positions in public life and in Government for nearly twenty years.

I have had the privilege of working with him in Government and have admired his dynamism and human qualities.

His friends and admirers in Bombay have decided to constitute a charitable trust to encourage social service on the occasion of his sixty fifth birthday. I wish them success and hope that Shri Patil will have many more years of useful service to the country.

K. R. DAMLE

Lt. Governor, Goa, Daman and Diu

★

I am glad to know that friends and admirers of Shri S. K. Patil are proposing to constitute a Shri S. K. Patil Public Trust and to bring out a souvenir to mark his 65th birthday anniversary which falls on August 14.

Noted for his strength and organising skill Shri S. K. Patil will go down in the history of Bombay City as one of the Chief Builders of this cosmopolitan City. He bears a dynamic and striking personality, vivid, masterful and resolute. As an active member of the All India Congress Committee for an unbroken period of over four decades and as the Secretary and President of the Bombay Pradesh Congress Committee for 23 years, he has exhibited an unflinching loyalty to the Congress organisation.

I express my heartiest felicitations to him and wish him many more years of happy life in the service of the country and the Congress.

I wish the publication of the souvenir all success.

BALVANTRAY MEHTA

Chief Minister,
Government of Gujarat

★

Shri S. K. Patil is one of our prominent leaders who has served the country for about 40 years in different capacities. I pray for his long life so that he can serve our great country many more years.

It is only befitting that a Public Trust should have been constituted in his name to serve the very purpose for which he is working since the beginning of his public life.

S. TRIPATHY

Chief Minister, Orissa

I am extremely delighted to learn that a committee of leading citizens has been constituted to celebrate the Sixty-fifth birthday of Shri S. K. Patil in a befitting manner. It has been my privilege to know Shri S. K. Patil for many years. His contribution for the consolidation of the Congress Party in the erstwhile Bombay State has been unparalleled. He has made a tremendous name for himself as an able organizer. He created history by being the Mayor of Bombay City for three consecutive terms. This shows the highest esteem in which he is held by the people of Bombay.

As a national leader and as a Minister in the Union Cabinet for the past many years he has made his characteristic impact. His pleasant personality has won him innumerable friends from all ranks in India and abroad. In addition to political work he has done great service in the social, cultural and educational fields. Thus his dynamic personality has pervaded the entire spectrum of the Indian scene for the past many years.

I am very happy that as part of the birthday celebrations it is proposed to constitute a Public Trust for providing educational and medical facilities to the poor. I feel proud to join all of you in paying my tributes to this popular leader on the occasion of his Sixty-fifth birthday. I wish the celebration all success and hope that there will be spontaneous and sizeable response for the constitution of the Public Trust.

S. NIJALINGAPPA
Chief Minister, Mysore.

★

I am happy to learn that the sixty-fifth birthday of Shri S. K. Patil is being celebrated in a befitting manner. It is good to commemorate this occasion by constituting a Public Trust which will provide relief to the needy and the destitute.

On this occasion I wish him a long life. I wish the celebrations all success.

MOHANLAL SUKHADIA
Chief Minister, Rajasthan

★

I am glad to know that the 65th birthday of Shri S. K. Patil, Union Minister for Railways falls on August 14, 1965. It is heartening to learn that a Committee has been formed to celebrate his birthday in a most befitting manner. Shri Patil has played a very important role in the country's freedom struggle. I have a long personal association with him and feel glad to enumerate his various laudable services towards the cause of national development.

I wish you all success and many happy returns of this day to Shri Patil.

RAM KISHAN
Chief Minister, Punjab

I am very happy to know that the 65th birthday of Shri S. K. Patil is being celebrated by a citizens committee of Bombay.

An intrepid fighter for freedom with a dynamic personality and varied interests, Shri Patil has a unique constructive talent and his effective role in the general elections of the country is a part of the history.

It is in the fitness of things that a 'Shri S. K. Patil Public Trust' is being constituted with a view to heal the sick and alleviate the miseries of the poor which we in India accepted in a spirit of fatalism or hopeless resignation.

I wish him many a happy return of this day and a prolonged purposeful life.

SUCHETA KRIPALANI
Chief Minister, Uttar Pradesh

★

Shri S. K. Patil will be 65 years young on August 14 this year.

Shri Patil symbolises radiant youth and, at the same time, serious concern for the weaker sections of the society. I commend the proposal to found a public trust on this occasion for extending medical relief and educational facilities to our less fortunate brethren. This would be nearest to Shri Patil's life long endeavour.

I join my countrymen in wishing Shri Patil many and most happy years of public service.

P. C. SEN
Chief Minister, West Bengal

★

As I know from my personal experiences, Shri S. K. Patil has not only proved himself a distinguished leader and a great contributor in the freedom struggle but also a benevolent Congressman.

Shri Patil, as I see him, is a disciplined soldier, an able administrator, and thorough bred politician. As such it is in the fitness of things that the Public Trust should honour him on his 65th birthday.

I, therefore, wish the organisers of Shri S. K. Patil Public Trust, the best of luck in their endeavour.

D. B. BANDODKAR
Chief Minister,
Government of Goa, Daman and Diu.

I refuse to contribute articles to souvenirs issued to make my young friends look old. Shri S. K. Patil is one whom I like very much. I wish he left the Congress and joined me. He could then carry on my work much better than I am doing and work till he is really old. In any case he is a fine specimen of Indian citizenry. My blessings to him when people are determined to say he has got old and celebrate the illusion.

C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

★

I am happy to learn that the 65th Birthday of Shri S. K. Patil is being celebrated on the 14th of August in a manner befitting this distinguished political leader, organiser and administrator. A veteran and redoubtable Member of the Congress High Command for some thirty years, Shri S. K. Patil has an assured and honoured place in the history of India's struggle for freedom and its subsequent integration and development as a great nation.

I am happy at this opportunity of joining in extending congratulations to him on his 65th Birthday and in paying tribute to the lifetime of services he has rendered the country and his Party.

J. R. D. TATA

★

Shri S. K. Patil is a personal friend of mine. We have known each other now for nearly 35 to 40 years. I am glad that you are celebrating his 65th birthday.

All my good wishes.

G. D. BIRLA

★

I have known Mr. S. K. Patil longer than I care to recall. A friend has been described as one who knows you and still likes you! I like Patil.

A distinctive characteristic of our friend is his uncommon common sense and his ability to get on with all manner of people. He makes a cheerful companion and, his conversation, peppered with humour and cynicism, is always stimulating.

I shall not say anything about Patil's politics and political convictions, since my own affiliations are different. Neither of us can convert the other, and we must be content to regard each other as misguided. Anyway, placed as he is, my friend should not find it too difficult to be tolerant towards those who are roaming in the wilderness.

Bombay holds Patil in special regard, and there are thousands upon thousands of her citizens who will wish him well on the occasion of the celebration of his 65th Birthday.

H. P. MODI

It gives me pleasure to learn that on the occasion of the 65th birthday of Shri S. K. Patil his friends propose to constitute a Public Trust in his name and arrange a function to felicitate him. I know Shri S. K. Patil since 1930. He has always discharged his duties towards the welfare of the people with all sincerity and earnestness. May the Almighty bless him with a long life.

RAVISHANKAR MAHARAJ

★

Shri S. K. Patil belongs to the old generation of Congress leadership that entered the arena of struggle without any kind of expectation of any gain. The years roll on and that great army which Gandhiji has created is steadily disappearing. Time is no respecter of persons or personalities. It is our good fortune that we have in our midst Shri Patil who possesses the background of the old and can easily digest the new. A pragmatic person and a man of action he is more concerned with getting things done than philosophizing. He has abundant good humour, robust common sense and warmheartedness. May he be spared to the nation for many years to serve it and the cause that he has made his own, namely, the peace of the world and prosperity of his country.

U. N. DHEBAR

★

I have great pleasure in sharing the greetings to Mr. S. K. Patil on the occasion of his sixty-fifth birthday. There are few men whom I have met in public life whose energy and intelligence have more impressed me, in whose political skills I would place higher confidence and who, withal, are better companions. I join all his friends in the warmest good wishes.

JOHN KENNETH GALBRAITH

★

Mr. S. K. Patil has been an outstanding politician for the last forty years and over. He was the right-hand man of Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, whose insight in evaluating persons was incomparable. Mr. Patil has one outstanding virtue - not to be afraid of telling the truth as he sees it. He has been an invaluable member of the Congress party and has been instrumental in collecting large funds both for the party and public institutions, because of his inherent capacity to understand and appreciate the other man's point of view.

KASTURBHAI LALBHAI

★

I am very happy to know that a charitable Trust is being set up to commemorate the sixtieth birthday of Shri S. K. Patil. It seems a most appropriate move. I am glad to send my greetings and sincere good wishes on this happy occasion. Shri S. K. Patil has very generously given of himself to many good causes. His liberal and cosmopolitan interests have enabled him to espouse many interests in the aid of the less fortunate and the needy. That these efforts should be given a permanent form is essential and appropriate. It will also give his many admirers opportunity to associate themselves with this very commendable project.

KAMALADEVI CHATTOPADHYAYA

Shri S. K. Patil is an institution by himself. There is no aspect of public life in Bombay that has not received his impact or gained by his advice and counsel. On the all-India level also, Shri Patil has given of his best in the service of his country and his people and they are grateful for that.

I am happy to know that Shri Patil's 65th birthday is being celebrated in Bombay in August this year. I am sure that the souvenir which is to be brought out on the occasion will provide a source of inspiration to one and all as to how a dedicated man can serve his country with zeal and devotion. I pray God may grant Shri S. K. Patil long years of health and strength to continue to serve India.

TARA CHERIAN

★

I am glad to know of the initiative taken by a Committee of eminent citizens to celebrate the 65th Birthday of my old friend, Mr. S. K. Patil, in a manner befitting the stature attained by him and the unforgettable services rendered by him to the City of Bombay and the country as a whole over forty eventful years.

A born organiser and tactful manager of men, a captivating speaker and, above all, a warm-hearted friend to all who have come in touch with him, he has captured and held the imagination of cosmopolitan Bombay.

His work at Delhi in the larger national sphere in recent years has been no less distinguished, and all have benefited from his deep knowledge, long experience of men and affairs, far-sightedness, initiative and drive. The toughest of tasks have held no terror for him, and he has tackled several delicate issues and overcome formidable obstacles in the political and administrative fields.

I pray that Shri Patil may be endowed with long life and undiminished energy, enthusiasm and buoyancy to serve the City of his dear adoption and our country in ever-widening spheres of purposeful endeavour and activity.

SYEDNA DR. TAHER SAIFUDDIN SAHEB
(Head of the Dawoodi Bohra Community)

I am happy to know that Shri S. K. Patil is celebrating his 65th birthday on 14th August and that Shri S. K. Patil Public Trust is commemorating the occasion with the publication of a special Souvenir.

Shri Patil in his ministerial appointments, has worked with forthright determination to promote our country's progress. The work done by him is commendable and I wish him many more years of active, useful life.

S. L. KIRLOSKAR

★

Dear Shri Patil,

It gives me great pleasure to send you my personal greeting on this occasion of your 65th birthday.

I have pleasant memories of the hospitality that you extended during my visits to India. I have admiration for the many contributions that you have made to the growth and well-being of India and its fine people.

I send my best wishes for good health, good spirits, and an active life of public service for many years ahead.

ORVILLE L. FREEMAN

Secretary

Department of Agriculture, Washington

★

I am happy to learn that Bombay is celebrating the 65th birthday of Shri S. K. Patil. The Committee's decision to constitute 'Shri S. K. Patil Public Trust' to provide educational and medical facilities to the poor is indeed laudable.

Shri Sadoba Patil has identified himself for the last more than three decades with the City of Bombay. His services to this great cosmopolitan city of Western India will ever be remembered. It is difficult to enumerate all the activities with which Shri Patil Sahab has associated himself during this period; nay, it will be difficult to find any useful activity worth the name with which Shri Patil is not associated.

I have the good fortune to know Shri Patil since 1930. I have known him as a staunch congressman, as President of the BPCC and Mayor of Bombay, as a politician, a parliamentarian and a debator. The causes which he has espoused have always succeeded. His charm, and humour have infected everybody who has come in touch with him.

But I know Shri Patil more as a friend of working classes and the poor. The help which he has rendered, day in and day out, to the working classes of Bombay will never be forgotten by the workers of Bombay. Very few people know that Shri Patil was the President of the first INTUC textile union of Bombay and in that capacity he has devoted his time and energy in building up a strong trade union in Bombay.

Shri Patil has now changed his field of activity. Patil who belonged to Bombay, now belongs to India. I pray to the Almighty that He may give him a long life and robust health to serve the country for a long time to come.

S. R. VASAVADA

SHRI S. K. PATIL

Events in Chronological Order



- 1900** Born in village Malvan in Ratnagiri District on the 14th August, in a middle class family.
- 1907-08** From this period onwards, acquired the habit of reading Marathi Newspapers, when writings of Lokmanya Tilak on Swadeshi Movement and boycott of foreign goods etc. gave much inspiration.
- 1918** Passed Matriculation Examination.
- 1919** Joined St. Xavier's College, Bombay.
- 1920** Left College (when reading for Intermediate Arts) and joined the Indian National Congress and took active part in the Civil Disobedience, Non-co-operation and Freedom Movement.
- 1921-24** Started a National School at Malvan and conducted it till it had to be closed down by the end of 1924.
- 1924-26** Proceeded to England in December 1924, with the blessing of Mahatma Gandhi, and took intensive training at the University College, London and successfully completed Diploma courses in Journalism. He was the only London-trained journalist then in the country.
- 1927** On returning to Bombay, joined "Bombay Chronicle".
- 1929** Became General Secretary of the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee and served in that capacity for 17 years i.e. upto 1946.
- 1930** (i) Mahatma Gandhi launched his Civil Disobedience Movement and Shri S. K. Patil was jailed for the first time for participation in the same.
- (ii) Went to Prison eight times, for a total of more than ten years, from 1930 to 1945.
- 1931** Resigned from the 'Bombay Chronicle' to devote full time to the Congress.
- 1932** Became member of the Bombay Municipal Corporation and continued to be a member for 20 years.
- 1933** Became a member of the All India Congress Committee, and has been continuing as a member till today.
- 1935** Elected member of the Bombay Municipal Corporation.
- 1937-46** Member of the Bombay Legislative Assembly.
- 1946** President of the Bombay Pradesh Congress Committee upto 1956.
- 1947-50** Member of the Constituent Assembly of India, and member of the Congress Working Committee.

- 1950 (i) Elected Mayor of Bombay; Visited the U.S.A. for the first time and studied Municipal Administration in 40 American Cities.
- (ii) Visited Hollywood in his capacity as Chairman of the Indian Government's Film Enquiry Board.
- 1950-51 Re-elected Mayor of Bombay.
- 1951-52 Again re-elected Mayor of Bombay.
- 1950-52 Member of the Provisional Parliament.
- 1952 Ever since the first general elections of 1952, he has been a Member of the Lok Sabha in the Union Parliament.
- 1957 Became member of the Congress Working Committee, and again from 1960 to date.
- 1957 Was appointed Cabinet Minister for Irrigation and Power (April 1957—March 1958).
- 1958-59 Was incharge of the Ministry of Transport and Communications (April 1958—August 1959).
- 1959 (i) Held the portfolio of Food and Agriculture for 4 years. In August 1963 he resigned from the office in pursuance of what is known as the 'Kamraj Plan' and devoted his time to Congress Organizational work. He was also the Treasurer of the Congress from 1960 to 1964.
- (ii) His famous wheat deal with the President of the U.S.A.
- 1961 Visited U.S.A. for the sixth time in search of a quota for Indian sugar. Visited U.S.S.R. and other Eastern European Countries for the first time.
- 1964 On June 1964, was appointed Cabinet Minister in charge of the portfolio of Railways.

★

Shri S. K. Patil is actively associated with several social, educational and cultural organizations in the City and elsewhere. Here are the names of a few such organizations:—

PRESIDENT

Shri Brihad Bharatiya Samaj	International Club of India
Local Self-Government Institute of India	Indo-German Cultural Society
Balkan-ji bari	Poona School & Home for the Blind
Bassein Education Society	Mahila Kala Mandir Society
International Forum	Lala Lajpatrai Memorial Committee
International Students Forum	Women's Education Society, Malvan
India Peace Corps	Nehru Vidya Nagar, Bombay

All India Humanitarian League

A Rambling account of myself



J. B. Patil

I am not much of a reader of autobiographies and perhaps not well qualified to write mine. The few that I have read have not left a particularly good impression on me. It is easily understandable that one cannot put on paper quite truth-

fully, what one feels about oneself. If one writes too much appreciatively it might be regarded as either self-adultation or a boast. If one is to write critically, it might not be worth writing at all unless the writer has retired from active life and no more cares for popularity. Between these two extremes of views it is difficult for anybody to write candidly about oneself. It is far more difficult to do so for a man who is thick in politics and contemporary events. When I look back on my life now 64 years ago, very often I wonder how much of it I can share with other people and particularly those who are younger than myself. In spite of my natural aversion to writing about self, if I venture to make a few autobiographical observations, my only apology for doing so is that I feel they might be somewhat useful to the younger generation.

It is for others to say whether my work for the public during the last 45 years has been any good at all. There are, however, some personal factors not necessarily known to outsiders which form the background of everything, good or bad, that the public man in my position does. There are attitudes of mind, certain pronounced inhibitions and reflexes, all born of personal experience. It would be difficult to explain them logically, but they are there, and one cannot get over them. It would be considered trite to say that the quality of self-confidence is the very basis of anything good or great that man does. Given self-confidence, even an ordinary man can do unexpected things. Minus self-confidence, it is next to impossible for a man to cut any ice in life in a real sense. I shall illustrate this point by references to my own life.

I was born, like a majority of people in this country, of humble parentage in a small village (Pat) in the Sawantwadi State which is now a part of Ratnagiri District of Maharashtra. This village is several miles away from any town. I had the misfortune of losing my father when I was a boy of ten. If God had not been extra-merciful to me in blessing me with a little bit of that rare virtue known as self-confidence, I would certainly not be what I am today in life. Like eighty per cent of our citizens, I would have been a peasant and would have ended my life some time in the natural course, to use the poet's expression, 'unwept, unhonoured and unsung.' I had, however, an insatiable desire to educate myself and come up in the world. My ideals then were very small

and my relief today is that I have been able to achieve them. I had to struggle hard even to get my elementary education. I had to go from village to village where there was a primary school but my self-confidence egged me on and on until one day I found myself in a small town with a good prospect of having my secondary education. The same self-confidence enabled me to push my way through the school to the college. It was indeed a hard struggle but by God's grace my self-confidence never left me. So I found myself one day in the grandest City of Bombay securely installed in a college looking forward to life, both of education and action.

Then came the era of Mahatma Gandhi and his non-violent non-co-operation. Gandhiji wanted school and college students to get out of their institutions if only for one year. That was part of his first Satyagraha Movement of 1920. When he addressed the students of Bombay, thousands were emotionally moved. It was a restless day for me. I was easily carried away emotionally by Gandhiji's appeal. My own mind at once succumbed to a curious logic which, thinking retrospectively, I might not consider very sound. I thought to myself: Here I was standing on my own legs, call me a self-made man if you like. I had nothing to lose by following Gandhiji. There was the usual thrill in working for one's country's liberation. The same streak of self-confidence, which had helped me thus far to get on in life, now beckoned me to this new venture which was ultimately to change the whole course of my life. Thus did I find myself in public life at a very young age of 20. I can now confidently say, as I have been saying to the younger generation every time I have an opportunity of talking to them, that self-confidence is a great thing in life. With it we can do anything in the world; without it, we can hardly do anything worth while.

Another thing which I can usefully advise the younger generation is to develop the quality of what I might call seriousness, both of thought and action, in any task which we have undertaken to do. I am not saying this in any vainglorious attitude. Much of the success, if others are prepared to call it a success, of my public life is, in a large measure, due to the seriousness I feel in discharging my public obligations. Whether as a journalist, which was going to be my profession if politics had not come in the way, or as a public man, I have taken

my duties and responsibilities seriously. You can never achieve results in any good thing of life unless you regard life as a continuous examination which we have to pass. In my public life, I come across a large number of young people, who have all the enthusiasm, vitality and emotionalism to do good things; to serve the people and their country, but my long experience has convinced me that a large majority of them lack this quality of seriousness. There is not much consistency in what these young people try to do. Their enthusiasm ultimately evaporates and they easily lapse into inactivity which is their common lot. As a young boy I was gifted with some sort of debating talent. In my school and college, I used to take considerable part in debating societies. Even in this not-so-significant a task, I used to be serious. If I had to take part in a debate the next day, I would be restless until my part was over. I used to approach the debate with an amount of seriousness which, very often, did me plenty of good and yielded commendable results. With my long personal experience, I am in a position to tell young people, who have yet to fashion their lives, that they must try from the very beginning to develop this quality of handling their tasks with seriousness.

I consider the generation to which I belong to be very lucky. It had the advantage of having great leaders as its heroes. One should have an ideal in life and more particularly an ideal leader to follow. Hero-worship, according to Carlyle, is innate in every man but there must be heroes whom one can worship. Every generation everywhere is not equally lucky in this respect. Speaking from the experience of my generation, I am in a position to say that we were the luckiest in this respect because we had great national leaders whom we could worship and follow. What generation could have produced such a galaxy of great leaders at one and the same time? If some of us are anything in our country's public life, the entire credit for it goes to India's great and unmatched leadership. As a young boy I remember how students in schools and colleges were literally mad after Lokamanya Bal Gangadhar Tilak. The very sight of this great patriot, who gave us the message of Swaraj, was an inspiration to that young generation. I have seen young boys and girls in tears when Gandhiji used to demand sacrifices from them. Our high ideals of national discipline during the last few decades were due to the influence that our

leadership exercised on our minds. What single generation could, indeed, boast of leaders like Tilak, Gandhi and Nehru? I consider myself particularly lucky because I had the advantage of seeing most of these leaders of our generation at very close quarters. Apart from Gandhiji, who of course was the fountain of our national inspiration, the man who made my life and moulded it as it were in its present cast was Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel.

I do not exactly remember when and how I met Sardar for the first time. It was some time, if my memory serves me right, after the Karachi Congress in 1931 over which he presided. Since that time right up to his death, for a period of full 20 years, I regarded him as my guide and philosopher. I cannot call him 'friend' because my privilege was to sit at his feet and learn. There seems to be a general opinion in this country that Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel was slightly of a harsh and rough temperament. Many call him the 'Iron Man of

India'. He was, no doubt, an iron man, in the sense that one could rely on him for strict and efficient administration. But as a man, to those who had the good fortune of coming into close contact, he was very mild and considerate. At times he used to be emotional where his personal friends and followers were concerned. What little I know of organisation and administration, I have learnt from this great man. Sardar had the uncanny sense of picking people and putting them in their proper pigeon holes. Superfluities never attracted him. Once he judged the man and found him correct, he trusted him implicitly and got him to do anything he wanted. It has been my constant endeavour to follow this particular trait of Sardar's character. I do not claim, by any means, that I am as successful as Sardar, but surely he was the best ideal to emulate.

When we think of the great idealism which was given to our generation by these mighty leaders,

WITH PRIME MINISTER NEHRU



SERIOUSNESS: BOTH OF THOUGHT & ACTION
(At the Congress Session at Bhuvaneshvara, January 1964)

Shri Patil: The Gateway to Bombay

SHRI PATIL has played during the last four decades, a vital part in the life of the cosmopolitan city of Bombay for which he has infinite love. He is Bombay-minded. If Bombay is to be called the Gateway to India, Shri Patil could be dubbed as the Gateway to Bombay. He has been eminently instrumental in raising the dignity, importance and prestige of the city.

Shri Patil's role in the civic body is as memorable as the one in politics. He was elected member of the Bombay Municipal Corporation in 1935 and continued to be its member till 1952. He was elected Mayor of Bombay in the year 1949-50. Shri Patil made history here, graced the coveted position for three consecutive years—a record in the annals of the Municipal Corporation.

Always foresighted and alert for the dignity of the House, not unmindful of the greatness of the chair he occupied, always restless and ever anxious to bring about improvement in civic sphere, Shri Patil made visits to foreign countries and brought to bear on the august office fresh insight and experience and he was, in a large measure, responsible for streamlining the civic administration.

His vigour and his energy were the guiding forces of a new civic movement that transformed the old city into a modern one. The inauguration of the Indian Republic Day on 26th January, 1950 in Bombay and a little later the merger of the suburban areas with the Bombay Municipal Corporation are conspicuous events.

The Primary Education Department was overhauled and an Education Committee was appointed in place of the Schools Committee by an amendment of the Municipal Act. Considerable progress was made in the execution of the Rs. 16 crore Vaitarna-cum-Tansa Scheme for the augmentation of the City's water supply, Town Planning, Drainage and Sewage Schemes for different areas in the Suburbs, then newly merged, were undertaken. The Mahatma Gandhi Memorial Swimming Pool at Shivaji Park was constructed. Preparation of the Master Plan for Greater Bombay was accelerated. The practice of appointing Municipal Officers through

the Public Service Commission was introduced. The outmoded conservancy services were largely mechanised and modernised. The B.E.S.T. Undertaking after its municipalisation in August, 1947, was greatly expanded and improved.

A notable advancement was secured also in the vital sphere of Medical Relief and Public Health during Shri Patil's Mayoralty. The Bahadurji Ward of the R.P.T.B. Hospital was completed along with the extension of the Bai Yamunabai L. Nair Hospital and additional bed accommodation so provided was 160 beds. The insecticide services started a few years ago were expanded and improved. The housing problem in the city received due consideration and nearly 1,150 tenements were constructed at a cost of Rs. 31 lacs.

Perhaps the most conspicuous single special activity that was undertaken by the Corporation was a great civic campaign meant to rouse the health and sanitary consciousness of the citizens. It was the Cleaner and Healthier Bombay Week in October 1950 with its special features of a grand Public Health Exhibition and Demonstration of progress made by the august body on the health front. It was thus symbolic of the era of progress which bore the unmistakable impress of Shri Patil's personality. Not only did Shri Patil bring dignity to the high office of the Mayor but put Bombay's Mayoralty on the international map.

As has been truly observed by some veterans "from journalism to politics, from films to almost all the cultural activities of the nation, from the championship of the common man to the chiefdom of the State Congress, from the Mayoralty of Bombay to the Ministership in the Union Cabinet—he has practically covered all walks of life in India serving each interest sincerely and devotedly".

Shri Patil has many shining facets—a politician, an orator, an organiser, a writer, and a social worker. His genius is blossoming like flowers in spring. His intense humanism, striking dynamism, flaming patriotism, transcendent idealism, glowing optimism and placid internationalism go to make him one of the great and unique personalities of our times. Truly age cannot dim, nor custom obscure his infinite variety. ★

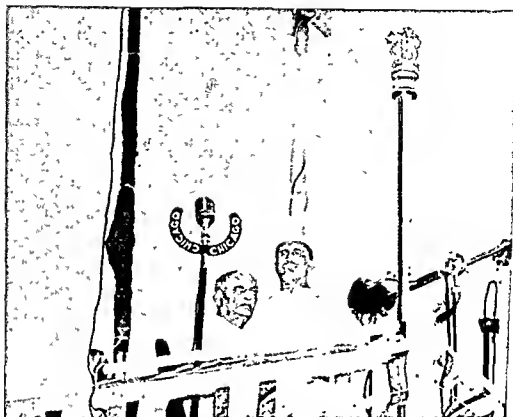
The Greatest Tribute



I came to know Shri Patil intimately since 1945 only. About two years later, an interesting incident happened in Delhi where I was staying as the guest of Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel. A lawyer of Bombay was bitterly complaining to Sardar Patel against Sri S. K. Patil, who was accused of all kinds of malpractices. By that time Shri Patil had already become the object of jealousy in many quarters. Although everybody was admitting his organisational ability, the complaint that his methods were wrong was vociferous. Sardar Patel listened to the advocacy of the Bombay lawyer and in his usual firm tone asked him if he was prepared to suspend his practice and take charge of the Congress organisation in Bombay, and if he agreed to do so, Sardar Patel promised to ask Shri Patil to retire and hand over the Congress to that lawyer. Sardar Patel did not allow any rigmarole on the point. He insisted upon a straight answer. Of course the reply was in the negative. Then Sardar firmly said—"When you cannot do the thing, you have no right to criticise a man who is doing something. I have full confidence in Patil and Bombay Congress is safe in his hands." I think this is the greatest tribute which a political worker could aspire to earn after only a few years of work.

—DR. H. K. MEHTAB

The Great Partnership



As Chief of Staff of Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, Patil displayed his incomparable organising talent and he succeeded in converting what was at best a Noah's Ark of agitators in Bombay into a disciplined, well-knit party imbued with a sense of ruling power. It was during the uneasy interregnum between the Gandhi-Irwin truce and Gandhiji's return from the Second Round Table Conference that Patil caught the eye of Sardar who was then Congress President. For the next nineteen years till Sardar's death in December 1950, Patil was the executive arm of the Iron Man with the bronze complexion. If the mind was Patel's, the momentum was Patil's. The story of that great partnership may one day be told, as also how Patil was baulked of his hard-earned prize in 1947 by the schemes and stratagems of meandering mediocrity.



SHRI S. K. PATIL

A LIFE OF DEDICATED SERVICE

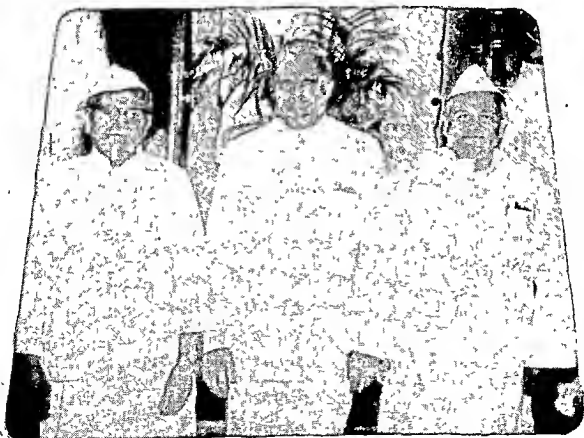
SHRI BHAWANJI A. KHIMJI

For those who have known Shri S. K. Patil intimately and worked with him closely it would be difficult to write on him. Particularly for me, who can claim to have enjoyed his confidence and friendship with certain amount of legitimacy and pride, it is doubly difficult. Shri Patil is a multitudinous personality. I have yet to find an aspect of our city's cosmopolitan life or of our country's national life or of the modernity of our age, which Shri Patil has not touched or enriched. He is one man in our country to-day who defies description.

Undoubtedly Shri Patil enjoys reputation for many things: powerful oratory, unique sense of realism, great cosmopolitan outlook, unexcelled organisation and administrative ability, outstanding

gift of humour, perfect efficiency, steel determination, unexampled capacity for winning friends, unexceptional generous nature and above all abiding faith in democracy and inalienable rights of man. I admire all these great qualities of Shri Patil, but what I admire most in him is the warmest friendship he offers to everyone who is near and dear to him. It is an ancient saying that a friend is known in adversity. This applies ideally to Shri Patil. In adversity he stands by his friends like a rock. He gives them strength and self-confidence and they never lose hope. So long as Shri Patil is with them, disappointment can never touch them.

I have known Shri Patil for well over thirty years. The more I have known him the more I have ad-



Shri Bhawanji A. Khimji, Shri Patil, Shri Babubhai M. Chinai

mired him. These years have been most eventful in our national life. Shri Patil has played an important role in these events. But he has made no show of it. In this respect he has been unassuming.

I have known Shri Patil from the time he was drawn into the vortex of national movement. I have shared prison life with him. For the last thirty years, I have accompanied him to the plenary session of the Indian National Congress as well as to the meetings of the All-India Congress Committee. I have worked with him day and night whenever Congress Sessions were held in Bombay. In my associations with him all these years, Shri Patil has stood out as one in whom one can trust implicitly and rely upon the warmth of his friendship. Shri Patil is intensely human and that is his great asset.

I have seen Shri Patil rising to great heights under the inspiring leadership of Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, Gandhiji, of course, dominated his spirit and Sardar his mind. His inborn qualities were tempered and moulded to the exact standards and high values set by the Sardar. Shri Patil's loyalty to Sardar was supreme, he would never waver from it. After India became free Shri Patil ran the risk of losing opportunities of higher positions rather than weaken his loyalty to Sardar. I say this from my personal knowledge.

When Shri Patil came to Bombay, after passing matriculation from his native district, his natural desire was to join a college and carve out a career for himself. He entered St. Xavier's College and was in fact a brilliant student. But at that time India was astir with a burning desire for freedom. Bombay was a nerve-centre of that stir. Mahatma Gandhi was planning to launch a satyagraha movement against British regime. During one of his whirlwind tours of the country to mobilise the people for the struggle of freedom, Mahatma Gandhi came to Bombay and addressed a mammoth meeting. Young and old, men and women heard Mahatma's message. Young Patil was one of the crowd. His imagination was fired by the Mahatma. He made up his mind to join the struggle without a thought for the morrow. In response to Mahatma's call to students, he walked out of the college. Soon he found himself in prison. That was the beginning of his political career.

While young Patil was active in the freedom struggle, a significant event took place in his life.

He was awarded a scholarship for obtaining a diploma in Journalism in England. As one who had given up college at the call of the Mahatma, he could not just rush to England for obtaining the diploma. Shri Patil, therefore, sought the advice of Gandhiji whether he could take advantage of the scholarship. Gandhiji had no hesitation in giving permission to Shri Patil.

Shri Patil was in England for six years. He was a student of Professor Harold Laski in the London School of Economics. In those days he also visited France and other European countries.

When Shri Patil returned from England, he placed his services and talents at the disposal of a leading nationalist daily of Bombay and served the cause of nationalist journalism in the country for a number of years.

Prison-life came to him often enough. He used to be the first to be arrested and the last to be released. But whenever he was out of prison he took keen interest in the Congress organisation, which spear-headed India's struggle. He placed Bombay Congress on the map of the country. He initiated new ideas and new slogans with the result, Bombay laid down pattern for Congress organisational work for the rest of the country. As the General Secretary and later as President of the B.P.C.C., Shri Patil showed excellent organisational abilities. The credit for the uninterrupted success of the Congress in Greater Bombay, all these years, undoubtedly goes to Shri Patil.

Shri Patil came into prominence when the Congress Session was held in Bombay in 1934. He put his heart and soul into the work. In view of bitter Government hostility, Congress work in Bombay was by no means easy. Yet Shri Patil shouldered the onerous responsibilities and by his sheer drive and dynamism ensured the success of the Congress Session. Since then his rise has been steady.

Shri Patil's organisational abilities were particularly tested when the AICC meeting was held in Bombay on 7th August 1942. That was historic session when Mahatma Gandhi launched the Quit-India Movement. Ceaselessly for weeks Shri Patil planned to ensure the success of the session commensurate with its historic nature. It was known throughout the country that some momentous decision would be taken, therefore, all roads led to Bombay. There were rumours that the leaders would be arrested en block. This added poignancy

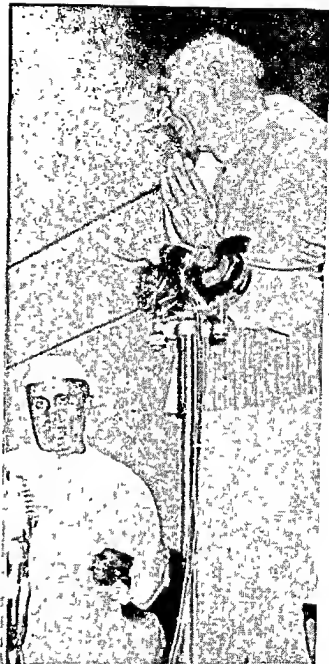
and seriousness to the occasion. There were frantic enquiries from all quarters as to what was going to happen. Sardar Patel, from the Chaupatty sands had warned the British that a tremendous force would be released which would overwhelm the British. All this generated a mighty enthusiasm amongst the people to attend or witness the session.

The work for AICC this time was particularly a most trying job. Shri Patil manned it with his typical dynamism. I am mentioning this fact because Shri Patil found himself active in the midst of events, which turned the tide of India's history.

Shri Patil rose to the occasion equally during the subsequent AICC meetings in Bombay.

Seen against the background of the years of struggle against British Imperialism, the Salt Satyagraha, the Non-Cooperation Movement and the heroic events of the Quit-India Movement of 1942 Shri Patil attains epic stature. I can still see Shri Patil striding through these events like a colossus inspiring and guiding the people not only of Bombay but the whole of Western India. Speaking of Bombay alone Shri Patil is the most outstanding symbol of the anti-imperialist traditions of our great city.

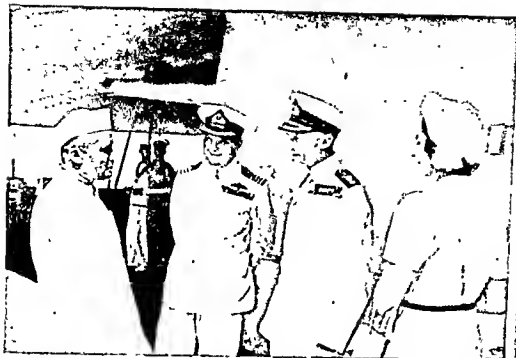
I have already referred to Shri Patil as an excellent organiser. In this capacity, he has brought an orderly and disciplined mind, an inexhaustible energy and consummate skill to bear upon his work. Because of this outstanding quality, time and again he has been called upon to shoulder immense tasks of national importance. We find him in the thick of the first elections after the formation of the unilingual State of Andhra. That election was a decisive test whether India would remain a democracy or go the totalitarian way. Had Congress lost that election, a strategic State in the heart of India would have fallen in the hands of a party which had no allegiance to democracy or any sense of patriotism. The communists in Andhra presented a most formidable front and they were hoping to come to power through the ballot-box. Besides they had at their disposal experience of a century of communist strategy and tactics successfully tested and tried in various countries. They had, further, much greater resources than the Congress Party. In such a nearly hopeless situation, the Congress High Command put Shri Patil in charge of the Congress election campaign in Andhra. Although



Gandhiji dominated Shri Patil's spirit and Sardar his mind

it was a most difficult assignment, Shri Patil went ahead with the election campaign with characteristic determination and zeal inspiring every member of the Congress with new self-confidence and vigour. Just within two weeks the election prospects were altered. When the election results were announced the communists were routed.

And then in Kerala. The communists there, thrown out of power by popular agitation, were desperately determined to foist their regime upon



Shri Patil evinces his interest in the subject while he talks with the officers of a ship in the Bombay harbour

the people. It was the second most critical moment in the history of free India. There again we find Shri Patil throwing himself into the campaign, addressing hundreds of meetings, infusing new blood into the weary hearts of Congress workers, inspiring them and steeling their determination. Here too, Shri Patil was instrumental in defeating the communists at the polls.

The history of the democratic progress in our country can never overlook these two great achievements of Shri Patil's political career.

I have watched Shri Patil as Bombay's Mayor for three consecutive terms; I have watched him as a member of Bombay Legislative Assembly, then as that of Constituent Assembly and of Parliament. I have watched him as the Union Minister in charge of various portfolios. In fact, he handled the most difficult portfolios—especially that of food. One unique quality of Shri Patil as a parliamentarian is that with all his oratory he never plays to the gallery. He would never play upon parochial sentiments of the people. He would speak out the truth, however, unpalatable it might be. He always thinks in terms of the nation and national interests and never in terms of a particular State or regional interests. He is even prepared to risk unpopularity or oblivion for the sake of his broad national views. It is for this reason that Shri Patil fits in every section of the Indian society. In fact, he has also attained a measure of popularity abroad.

Shri Patil's love for Bombay has become legendary. His intense interest in beautifying and

maintaining the cosmopolitan character of Bombay is perennial. As a member of Municipal Corporation for a number of years and as Mayor his main concern was to place Bombay on the map of the world as an outstanding city of the East. Although he came from village he was so completely identified with the city life that Shri Patil's name became synonymous with the reputation of Bombay. No other person is so distinguished for his love for Bombay as Shri Patil.

With the adoption of socialism as Congress ideal, Shri Patil is pledged to usher in socialist pattern of society. But Shri Patil is not a dogmatic socialist. His is a pragmatic approach to country's political and economic problems. He believes that theory must adjust itself to the needs of the times. Dogmatism only leads to intolerance and suppression of freedom. Shri Patil, therefore, values individual initiative of an entrepreneur in the economic planning. To him, as to Jafferson and Gandhiji that government is the best which governs the least.

The fact that Shri Patil is completing 65 years of his life is a matter of joy for all of us. We undoubtedly celebrate it. For all these years Shri Patil has given the best and finest in him to the nation. His life is a rich endowment to us in every respect.

The Vedic seers prayed that a man of action might live for hundred years. They said: Ever performing action here one may wish to live hundred years. Shri Patil's life is full of action, for others, for everybody. Let the prayer of the Vedic seers be fulfilled in his case.

PATIL —A CHAMPION OF INDIANS ABROAD

Shri Babubhai M. Chinai

THE history of Indians abroad can be divided into three broad epochs. The earlier phase refers to the crossing of the Seven Seas by Indians from times immemorial. Apart from the trade and such other relations this epoch was characterised by the spread of Indian culture, religion and literature into the Eastern regions of Malaya and the Far East. The spread of Buddhism was the most remarkable movement which introduced the greatest spiritual and cultural expansion ever known in human history. It was one of the greatest creative forces in all human history. The second phase begins with modern emigration which resulted from the great demand for labour in colonial countries for the plantations of the British and other foreign powers. With the abolition of slavery in 1834, the sugar plantations which were hitherto run by slave labour were in need of steady and reliable agricultural labour. After a great deal of hesitation and bargaining, the Indian indenture system was allowed, and as a result, there took place emigration of vast numbers of workers to foreign countries often under humiliating conditions which are well-known. This labour went to South Africa, Fiji, Trinidad, British Guiana, Mauritius, Ceylon and Malaya. Nearly one million Indians emigrated in the last century into the Island of Ceylon. Malaya accounted for nearly eight lakhs, South Africa two and a half lakhs and the rest were spread out in the different parts of the world.

It was Mahatma Gandhi who started his campaign against indentured labour and in this crusade against the inhuman treatment meted out to Indians, he received great support and encouragement from Mr. Polak and Mr. Gopalakrishna Gokhale. Mr. Gokhale characterised the system as

"a monstrous system iniquitous in itself, based on fraud and maintained by force, a system wholly opposed to modern sentiments of justice and humanity, and a great blot to the civilisation of any country that tolerates it."

Amongst those distinguished persons who were associated with the movement for ameliorating the conditions of the Indians abroad may be mentioned the late Mr. C. F. Andrews, Mr. W. Pearson, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, Mr. K. Natarajan, Mr. J. B. Petit, Sir Chimanlal Setalvad, Sir Pherozeshah Mehta, Sir Fazalbhoy Currimbhoy, Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas, Sir Manmohandas Ramji and a host of other distinguished Indians.

It was a relentless campaign trying to establish the rights of Indians to equality against White supremacy, racial hatred, segregation and creating *ghetto* conditions in every sphere, social, political and economic.

Indians who went abroad were no exploiters, but had held like pioneers in developing the trade and industry in whichever region they inhabited. The major exploiters, if any, were the Imperial powers who in their supreme arrogance created problems of colour bar and segregation. Even the arch Imperialist like the late Sir Winston Churchill paid an eloquent tribute to the role played by the Indians in his book "My African Journey", "It is the Indian trader who, penetrating and maintaining himself in all sorts of places to which no white man would go or in which no white man could earn a living, has more than any one else developed the early beginnings of trade and opened up the first slender means of communication. It was by Indian labour that the one vital railway on which everything else depends was constructed. It is the Indian banker who supplies perhaps the larger part of the capital yet available for business and enterprises, and to whom the white settlers have not hesitated to resort for financial aid. The Indian was here long before the first British Office. He may point to as many generations of useful industry on the coast and inland as the white settlers, especially the most recently arrived contingents from South Africa can count years of residence. Is it possible for any Government with a scrap of respect for honest dealing between man and man, to embark on a policy of deliberately squeezing out that native of India from regions in which he has established himself under every security of public faith?"

Inspired by a lofty sense of idealism and with a keen sense of appreciation of the problems and difficulties of nearly five million Indians settled abroad in over 40 countries, Shri Patil carried forward the work initiated by distinguished predecessors headed by Gandhiji, Gokhale, Andrews, Sir Pherozesah Mehta, and Sir Purshottamdas Thakurdas; with his statesmanlike understanding of the rapidly changing scene in Asia and Africa and the vast changes taking place in these great continents, Shri Patil reorientated his approach in a constructive manner in keeping with the dignity and status of a free and independent India. He was keenly conscious of the fact that in dealing with problems of Indians abroad, the revolution of rising expectations in the countries of Asia and Africa must be kept in view. In fact, the attainment of Indian independence was a source of constant inspiration to these countries and it was, therefore, but proper that Indians should share the aspirations of these countries to come into their own. At the same time, the essential problem is to see that those Indians who have acquired citizenship rights of the countries in which they have settled down have the same equality in respect of political and economic advancement of these countries. The Indians in turn should think themselves as part and parcel of these countries and conduct themselves in such a way that in the reconstruction of these countries they have an equal stake and responsibility.

Shri Patil, alive to the rapidly changing conditions, immediately thought of filling in the void created by the winding up of the Imperial Indian Citizenship Association which, till then, looked after the social, economic and political interests of Indians abroad. A band of public workers at Nairobi and Mombasa were already thinking in terms of setting up an organisation which could render assistance to Indians from overseas countries during their sojourn in India particularly in the important ports of India such as Bombay, Madras and Calcutta and also could further serve as a cultural centre and information bureau for them. Shri A. B.

Patel, Chairman of the Mombasa Committee, visited Bombay in 1950 and mooted the idea of having a building for the proposed Brihad Bharatiya Samaj at Bombay. Evidently, Shri Patil was approached for assuming the Presidentship of the Samaj. Under the dynamic and inspiring leadership of Shri Patil, the Samaj undertook the work of accommodation for passengers travelling to and from India and provision was made at the Congress House by reserving six flats in their new building. Shri Patil outlined his dream of putting up a special building for the Brihad Bharatiya Samaj which would house a Library, a Research Institute for study of the history, development and present conditions of Indian settlers abroad, a Public Hall, a Hostel for Indian students coming from abroad. With his characteristic zeal, Shri Patil led a delegation and visited Aden, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Asmara, Adis Ababa, Sudan, Kenya, Uganda, Dar-Es-Salaam, Mauritius and other countries. His idea was to organise collection of funds for the Brihad Bharatiya Samaj. The delegation was an unqualified success and received cooperation from all quarters.

Shri Patil, being essentially a realist, has given concrete shape to his dream and has succeeded in putting up a huge magnificent building at a cost of more than Rs. 30 lakhs in the Nanji Kalidas Mehta International House of the Samaj which was inaugurated by Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, President of India. The building today houses institutions such as Purshottamdas Thakurdas Research Centre, Bhubhai Desai Auditorium, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel International Hostel, Muljibhai Madhavani Library and New India Transit Camp which represent the consummation of the aspirations of Indians abroad. Shri Brihad Bharatiya Samaj, a living contribution of Shri Patil, now endeavours to provide all facilities for Indians abroad and contribute effectively in protecting their interests. Let us hope that Shri Patil, inspite of his multifarious activities in the national plane and greater responsibility which he is likely to be called upon to shoulder, will be able to guide the destinies of this institution in the years that lie ahead.

A LEADER WITH A KEEN SENSE OF REALITIES

Dr. K. M. Munshi

I MET Shri S. K. Patil for the first time early in 1930 when I joined the Congress to participate in the Salt Satyagraha. He was one of the two Secretaries of the Bombay Pradesh Congress Committee, the other one being Ganapatishankar.

I was arrested the day after my joining the Congress. Patil and Ganapatishankar were arrested the next day. So we came to be housed in the same yard in the Arthur Road Jail. Patil's high spirit relieved our gloomiest hour.

When the period of incarceration was over, he assumed his duties as the Secretary of the B.P.C.C., in the work of which I was associated with him.

It was a privilege to have seen how Shri Patil built up the strength and influence of the B.P.C.C. year after year, till it became a power and he became the unchallenged leader of the Congress in the city of Bombay.

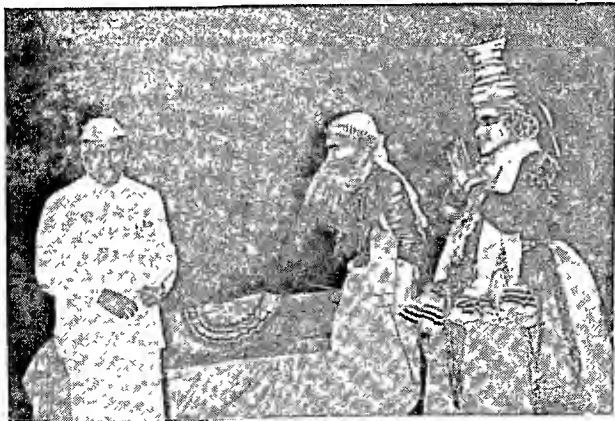
Shri Patil became an all-India leader of the Congress by sheer hard work, tactful handling of men and a flexibility of outlook, which are rare in politicians.

He is among the very few leaders of the Congress who have a keen sense of realities.

I have watched with admiration his superb powers of organization, particularly in hotly-contested elections. He is perhaps the ablest political organizer in India. Naturally such phenomenal success evoked jealousy, but he invariably met it with a cheerful smile.

In spite of successes and setbacks, he is ever ready to help anyone who approaches him in the best way he could.

He is comparatively a young man and many more achievements are awaiting him. He has ample reserves of power, and I am sure he will give many more years of useful service to the country.



SHRI S. K. PATIL
with two Kathakali exponents Anand Shivram and his father Guru Gopal Panickker.

A Star Shining in its Own Lustre

SHRI M. S. ANEY, M.P.

I am glad to know that friends in Bombay have decided to celebrate the 65th birthday of Shri S. K. Patil, Union Minister for Railways, this year in a befitting manner and present him with a souvenir containing appreciation of Shri Patil by eminent persons in the country. I thank you sincerely for having asked me to send my message also for incorporation in that volume.

I regard Mr. S. K. Patil as a nationalist Maharashtrian typifying the progressive spirit of young India of the 20th century. His meteoric rise in the public life of Bombay is itself a proof, if any proof is needed at all, of the many sterling qualities of head and heart on the strength of which he could carve his way to a place of eminence in that city of cosmopolitan nature where narrow lines of regionalism, linguism, casteism, racialism, parochialism lose their distinct tints and features and merge in what may be called the catholic spirit of nationalism embracing the whole of Bharat from Kashmir to Kanyakumari and from Dwarka to Puri in its hold. But this nationalism even has in it the

potentiality of gradually broadening into an ideal world federation seeking for the establishment of world peace on a stable footing with universal brotherhood to support it.

Sri S. K. Patil is intensely practical and patriotic, with a capacity for accommodation to bring about peace and understanding between rival groups fighting for positions and biting each other. *His presence in the Union Cabinet is something like a tower of strength that can support structure of politics trying to keep it steadily marching towards the goal.* Righteousness of the cause to serve, dispensation of pure and unalloyed justice to all irrespective of caste, creed, colour and country is his motto so far as I have been able to see and understand him. I wish this new star shining in its own lustre in the West of India longest period of life vouchsafed to man by the Almighty in whose will and wish the universe lives, moves and has its being.

With three cheers to Patil and Jai Hind, I conclude this humble tribute of mine to my friend.

A HOMAGE TO Hon. Shri S. K. PATIL

SHRI S. R. BHISE

We are extremely happy to get by God's grace this pleasant opportunity to convey our warm and affectionate felicitations to our beloved friend Hon. Shri S. K. Patil, one of the greatest personalities in modern India. He has completed his 65 years full of very successful and glorious achieve-

ments, and has a fine record of service of our motherland. His sparkling face does not show any signs of age or fatigue. He continues to work diligently and efficiently as a great Captain of the Army of Khuda's Khidmatgars.

He possesses many sterling virtues of greatness such as clarity of thinking, alertness in taking good decisions, and determination to execute them successfully and valiantly. His organising capacity is marvellous and outstanding. He possesses a very broad, deep and intelligent vision. His love and reverence for all good and noble values of life have deepened and strengthened his faith.

Modern India needs the services of workers of the robust faith, and steadfastness of Hon. Shri Patil and on this pleasant occasion let us all pray to God that he bestows his blessings liberally on this great son of India and inspire him to continue his glorious services to the Nation and all people for a very very long time to come.

SHRI PATIL : SOME REMINISCENCES

SHRI A. G. TENDULKAR

1924—I met S. K. Patil in June 1924 in Paris, for the first time. He was on his way back to India from England. He had completed a Diploma Course in Journalism in London on a Topiwalla scholarship. I was the next recipient, for studies in Natural Sciences in Paris. Although I did not know Mr. Patil personally, I wrote to him at London about the difficulty I was experiencing in getting the scholarship amount. I wondered if he could break his journey in Paris and allow me to meet him. I was staying at Gentilly, some 8 to 10 miles from Paris. My letter waited for a reply.

What was my surprise when, one fine morning, I saw a gentleman knocking at my door and announcing himself as S. K. Patil!

Mr. Patil, even at the age of 24, was an extremely good listener. He was practical in his approach and I was aware that he listened to me closely in order to help me the better. What really amazed me was his modesty in spite of his political standing, at that young age. We spoke more about India than about either of us or of our doings. He wanted to be an active journalist on his return to India and would associate himself with an English daily in Bombay. He was keenly interested in Politics and was under the complete influence of Gandhiji. It seemed to me that his main purpose in going to London was to acquire foreign training for his career as a nationalist journalist, a career he had chosen for himself. He left the firm impression on me that he was a man of word and would do exactly what he said and, perhaps, more.

I told him that I had heard about him; that my brother was a pupil in the national high school which he had started in Malwan in the year 1922. Coming, as we both did, from the same part of the country, we talked of common friends and common places. Mr. Patil gave me the impression that the scene of his activities would be Bombay, and that he chose the city of Bombay for starting his public life. This was in 1924.

1930—I met him again in 1930. By now, he was an established journalist in Bombay working for the 'Bombay Chronicle'. He was, besides, General Secretary of the B.P.C.C.

'Berliner Tageblatt', a widely read German daily

published in Berlin, had sent me to India as their special correspondent, to cover the Freedom movement. The relations between Sardar Vallabhbhai and Mr. Patil were extremely cordial and close. Mr. Patil was then at the foothill of his fantastic career. None of us could imagine that he would achieve so much over the past 35 years.

I remember meeting Sardar Vallabhbhai and Mr. Patil together in 1930. It was at the Central Railway station in Bombay. It was a rainy day. The evening was cloudy and dark. Sardar Vallabhbhai was seated in the compartment and we were standing outside on the platform talking to him through the window. Mr. Patil was engaged in serious conversation when I interrupted them. I had to get an instant and exclusive interview from Sardar Vallabhbhai for my German daily. Sardar Vallabhbhai was willing to oblige me but there was no time as the train was about to start. Mr. Patil also had a few urgent things to discuss with Sardar. I felt them together; but when the train began to move, I jumped in Sardar's compartment and followed him all the way to Ahmedabad. I could see both amazement and approbation in the face of Mr. Patil standing at the railway platform, at my quick decision to take the only right step at the right time. Since then, I have been able to lean completely on Mr. Patil.

Mr. K. M. Munshi, the President of B.P.C.C., had to depend upon Mr. Patil for organizational work of the Congress. Mr. Munshi had great imagination and did not much worry about who did the work and who got the credit for it. Mr. Patil knew as much. I recognised, for the first time, that Mr. Patil was a man of purpose and could correctly assess people, their claims and their contribution. This knowledge was his strength.

1941—After spending a year and a half in Hindalga Jail as a detenu, I was transferred at my request to the Nasik Central Jail. With six months solitary and one year of restricted company, I had no idea of what Nasik Jail had in store for me. I arrived at Nasik Jail gates early one afternoon and to my surprise, the first man to receive me was S. K. Patil! He was in charge of the canteen and although the other detenues had their meals at midday, he had kept some food for me. He kept

me company during the meal and afterwards showed me around the place. He introduced me to his close friend, Mr. Bhawanji A. Khimji, and in a very short while, I knew the rest of them.

The political elite of Bombay Province were assembled in that jail. We had Dinkarrao Desai, Kanaiyalal Desai, R. S. Nimlekar, Joachim Alva, Wandrekar, Silam, P. K. Sawant in the Congress yard. In the adjoining yard was the Communist party, among them, Sardesai, Chari and Godiwalla, Parulekar. These formed a group by themselves and hardly maintained any contact with the Congress yard. All of them, however, accepted Mr. Patil as their foreman in dealing with the jail authorities.

Mr. Patil, who had charge of the canteen, was the natural leader of the Congress group and presided over prayers each evening. He was the most punctual to attend and, apparently, the most devoted. He would often lead in reciting prayers in fluent Sanskrit; his diction was perfect. But when all were meditating, eyes closed, including Mr. Patil, I could not resist the feeling, on occasion, that Mr. Patil was observing everyone from behind closed eyes!

1942—The next time I met him was in 1942 in Yervada jail. He came in sequel of the 'Quit India' movement and I was transferred from Nasik to Yervada. Many members of the Bombay Government were accommodated in what was known as the 'Gandhi Yard'. It was here that Gandhiji fasted in the cause of Harijans and entered into an historic pact with Dr. Ambedkar. The back rooms were occupied by the late B. G. Kher, Morarji Desai, Bhawanji A. Khimji, M. Y. Nurie, S. K. Silam and S. K. Patil. The front rooms were given to Purshottamdas Tricumdas, Asoka Mehta, Keshav Gore, Abid Ali, N. V. Gadgil and myself. The last room was occupied by Saif Azad from Persia who led the most hospitable Coffee Club of which Mr. Patil was the most regular member and, I guess, its treasurer.

Temperamentally, Mr. Patil was the exact opposite of the late B. G. Kher. Morarji Desai had his own circle of visitors with whom he discussed several topics. Mr. Nurie was concerned about his health and it was Mr. Bhawanji A. Khimji who was the link of the yard. His interviews were the delight of the kitchen! He was everybody's friend and his politeness and tact were stronger than his personal likes and dislikes, which nobody could

guess. The kitchen was very ably managed by the late B. G. Kher, and Morarji Desai was in charge of the milk. S. K. Patil kept the most interesting library and his visitors from Bombay used to bring him all sorts of books, mostly fiction and crime stories. He received, on an average, about 25 books at every interview which was once a fortnight. These books, along with standard classics circulated by the late Meher Ali, formed the nucleus of the library for the whole yard. Mr. Patil, as in Nasik jail, was a regular visitor at prayer time and was not to be outdone by anyone else in piety and devotion which impressed everyone of us excepting, perhaps, Morarji Desai.

We used to spend our late afternoon playing bridge, in Mr. Khimji's room. Besides Mr. Khimji, the other three players were Morarji Desai, S. K. Patil and myself, the least skilled of the players. Often I was a partner of S. K. Patil and I knew that Mr. Patil had more use for my beginner's luck than for my skill at cards. I was quite content with that. With me as a partner, he made strong bids and on occasions when my cards did not come up to his expectations, he would be disappointed. On such occasions, Morarji Desai would always stand up for me.

Mr. Patil often desired a change from the mild Gujarati food served to us, day in and day out. His family in Bombay used to send him various types of spices to mix with the food. Once, every Sunday, I would cook for both of us with these spices. It was surely great food and Mr. Patil used to enjoy it very much. My liberal use of spices and masalas covered, I suppose, all the defects of my amateur cooking!

1945—Mr. Patil was released in 1943 and I was released in July 1945. The news of my release was in all the papers as my release, after a long detention of five and a half years, was due to the intervention of Gandhiji with Lord Wavell, the then Viceroy of India. Soon after, I received a telegram to proceed to Sevagram. I would have to go via Bombay. As I had no accommodation in Bombay, I wrote to Mr. Patil, Sardar Vallabhbhai and Mr. Joachim Alva informing them of the date of my arrival in Bombay.

This was in August 1945. I had just enough money to travel inter-class. On arrival at Victoria Terminus, I got down at the tail end of the train. I also took my time in getting off. After a few minutes, I saw Joachim Alva at the other end of



**'THY
MODESTY
IS A
CANDLE
TO
THY MERIT'**

Shri S. K. PATIL
helps Prime
Minister Nehru
in taking off
his shoes!

the station, in a large crowd, and he seemed all excited at the sight of me. The crowd turned back and S. K. Patil, with garlands, Dahyabhai Patel and Bhawanji A. Khimji proceeded towards me to give me a hero's welcome! They said they had looked for me for quite some time in all the upper class compartments and did not, for a moment, imagine that I would travel in an inter-class compartment and that too, at the tail end of the train! Mr. Patil immediately offered to put me up at his place at Heera House at Sandhurst Road. He had no room to spare and asked if I would be content with a bed in the verandah. I welcomed the suggestion and stayed with Mr. Patil for three months, instead of three weeks!

Those were days of close contact between us. We would talk together at lunch, at tea breaks, and I could see that his concept of the various economic theories expounded by Gandhiji were undergoing a fast revision. He had socialist objectives alright, but he did not believe that these could be achieved by socialist methods. He was critical of socialist jargon and often remarked that their slogans were not only meaningless but elegant phrase-mongering. His appreciation of the immensity of Indian problem mellowed him more than I could imagine possible.

1960—After Independence, I again came in close

contact with Mr. Patil in 1960. I was promoting an aluminium project which largely depended on American aid. I was aware that American industrialists and Mr. Patil spoke the same language, and I felt that Mr. Patil's recommendation would be of immense help. Mr. Patil introduced me to Mr. Ellsworth Bunker, the then American Ambassador to India, and to other American V.I.Ps. American help for my project was forthcoming in the most useful manner. It was, therefore, a great disappointment to Mr. Patil that for avoidable reasons, the great project fell through.

Although Mr. Patil did not often visit his hometown of Malwan in Ratnagiri district, I remember one occasion when he did visit Vengurla, in December 1960, to address a Conference called by the Konkani-Vikas Mandal. His speech was masterly and propbetic. He said that the country had to be grateful to Pandit Nehru for many things, but these things did not allow the country to grow. He said that Pandit Nehru was like a banyan tree which does not allow other trees to grow under its shadow. It would, therefore, be a long time before India creates proper leadership; he had hopes. He expressed his firm conviction that after a period, long or short, the search would be over and the country would find itself.

OUR DISTINGUISHED PARLIAMENTARIAN

Shri Hukam Singh
Speaker, Lok Sabha

I have learnt that Shri S. K. Patil will be 65 on the 14th August, 1965. He is one of our eminent leaders. Behind his prominence today lie those years of unflinching service in the cause of country's freedom, when he never hesitated to undergo any amount of privation or sacrifice. It is in the fitness of things that friends and admirers should arrange to honour him on the occasion.

Shri S. K. Patil is a versatile personality. His interests are varied and many. He is associated with many a social, educational and cultural institution. Despite his preoccupations as a politician, he is able to find time for these activities. It shows his abiding interest in diverse fields of human activity.

From amongst his many good qualities, two stand out prominently. He is renowned for his organisational skill and ability. It has almost become proverbial that when he sets his mind on some goal, he achieves it. The second quality is that he is a man of his conviction. He never hesitates to give vent to his views and feelings if he feels convinced.

I have known Shri Patil for some years now. I have come to know him closely after he became a Member of Parliament and later a Minister in the Central Cabinet. As a member, he has the singular ability of disarming his critics and opponents by marshalling facts, and by his persuasive eloquence which has made him one of our most distinguished parliamentarians. Hearing him speak is a treat. One is convinced of the sincerity behind his utterances. As a Minister, I have always found him ready to give the fullest information to the House. He is willing to have full discussion on the subjects under his charge. I have never found him to get ruffled or lose his temper in the House. He is always cool and composed. He meets his critics with convincing arguments. To the Chair, Mr. Patil shows proper respect. He is a great help in upholding the dignity of the Chair and the traditions of parliamentary institutions.

Let me join you in wishing him many happy returns of the day. May God spare him for many years to come in the service of our mother-land.

SHRI PATIL—A PERSONALITY

Shri S. K. Patil's role, as a leader of the front rank in the national liberation movement is unforgettable. It was his initiative and drive, organising skill, realistic approach and far-sightedness that made the Congress in the great city of Bombay, a strong, active, well-disciplined and well-knit body. And it was these qualities that made India's Bismarck, —the late Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, to place his high confidence in him. As a party organiser and as a great national leader, he is one who is held in great esteem by the people

who have great confidence in his leadership, more so in the time of dire need.

Shri Patil's association with and contribution to the spheres of art, literature and culture are also noteworthy. This gives his personality a touch of individuality.

It is a matter of joy that the 65th birthday of such a great leader is celebrated in a befitting manner and a souvenir which would serve as an inspiration to the masses is also released to commemorate this happy occasion. May God bless him with a long and healthy life to lead our country, to her goal.

RAJAMATA MAHARANI VIJAYA RAJE SCINDIA, M.P.

Patil-An Appraisal

SHRI R. P. ATIYAR



As the architect of electoral victory for the Congress, S. K. Patil is *non-pareil*. But this is not because he rubs any Aladin's lamp and invokes the aid of some genie. He can present the Congress ideology as few other leaders can; he may be called a symbol of the Congress alike in the years of the freedom struggle as well as the period of consolidation.

He has been an active member of the Congress for over forty-five years. It was while he was a student of the College that he joined the Non-Co-operation movement. Since then, his loyalty to the organisation has been unflinching; it has not waxed and waned with the seasons.

During the civil disobedience campaigns that rocked the country during the thirties, he displayed organising abilities of a rare order; every house in Bombay was converted to a Congress House. And he caught the eye of Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel whose chief lieutenant he became. It was a unique partnership which succeeded in making Bombay the political barometer of India; and the quip went round that when Bombay sneezed, the rest of India caught cold. For almost a quarter of a century, Patil guided the destinies of the Bombay Pradesh Congress Committee first as General Secretary and later as President.

There are many points of similarity between Sardar and Patil. Like the *guru*, the disciple is also noted for his strength and organising skill. In that striking personality, vivid, masterful, resolute, there are no blurred or nebulous outlines, there are no relaxed fibres and there are no pauses of lethargy or fear.

Patil possesses to an amazing degree the twin

requisites of real leadership—the capacity to delegate authority and loyalty to colleagues. He selects his lieutenants with care. But once the choice is made, he stands by them through thick and thin. He is generous in his praise; and admonitions are gently administered. Patil has the uncanny knack of getting the best out of his co-workers.

When Patil takes charge of an election, it is as though a general is preparing for a military campaign. An election for Patil begins much before the polling day. In fact, he sets about it even when the electoral rolls are being prepared. A machinery is set in motion to see that every qualified person is included in the rolls. And when the voters' lists are published, they are minutely analysed. Each constituency is divided into several units, each in charge of a group of trusted workers.

Deshbandhu Chittaranjan Das, Sundaresa Satyamurty, Vallabhbhai Patel and Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose won victories for the Congress nominees against overwhelming odds; and Patil is in that authentic tradition.

Never for a moment does Patil consider himself to be the repository of all wisdom. His conferences with co-workers are full-dress debates in the course of which every question is thrashed out fully. He is never averse to new ideas or to new techniques. The Communists in Andhra Pradesh learnt it to their cost in 1955 when Patil organised a landslide victory for the Congress during the mid-term election. In the first general election, the Bombay Congress led by Patil won all the four seats to the Lok Sabha, trouncing such veterans like Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, Jammadas Mehta, S. A. Dange, and Ashoka Mehta.

It is at election time that Patil's matchless oratorical gifts come into full play. He does not consider words as fragrant flowers to be woven into delicate garlands. Rather he views them as heavy calibre weapons to be used in the fight. He wields alike the sledge-hammer stroke of invective and the rapier-thrust of raillery. And his mordant sarcasm can be extremely biting; with an intonation he can ignite passion in a crowd.

Patil asks for no quarter and gives none during election time. He fights to win and invariably his efforts are crowned with success whether in Bombay or Kerala, Andhra Pradesh or Uttar Pradesh. But once the fight is over, the animosities are forgotten. Rancour is not in his heart, pettiness is not in his mind.

It was inevitable that, like Sardar, Patil too should have taken to civic work. It was under his matchless leadership that the Congress was able to capture the Bombay Municipal Corporation. Whoever might have occupied the Mayoral chair, Patil was the real power behind the throne. He was elected Mayor thrice in succession recalling the feats of Pherozeshah Mehta and Chittaranjan Das. It was during his tenure of office that the limits of the Corporation were extended to Greater Bombay.

It was expected that the services of such a great organiser and administrator would have been utilised to strengthen the Government of free India. But Patil had to wait ten long years after the advent of freedom to get ministerial responsibility. In 1957, he joined the Central Cabinet as Minister for Irrigation and Power. A year later, he became Minister for Transport. And when Ajit Prasad Jain resigned in August 1959, Patil was entrusted with the portfolio of Food and Agriculture. The Food Ministry has been the grave of many reputations and the only minister to escape much criticism was Rafi Ahmed Kidwai who attempted the

Peter Cheyney technique in solving the food problem. It is to the credit of Patil that there was no food crisis in the country throughout the period he held that portfolio.

As an administrator, he infused his dynamism into the various ministries over which he presided. It is to his credit that he never discouraged the initiative of the services. His relations with officials have always been cordial and he has never been on the lookout for scapegoats. In this as in many other respects, he has followed the wise and sagacious policy of Sardar Patel. He is no slave to any theory; his approach to every problem has been pragmatic. He does not flounder in ideological clouds; he has his feet firmly planted on realities.

Patil has been accused by many carping critics of clinging to office; but he was the first to resign his high office when the Kamaraj Plan was to be implemented. It speaks much for his indispensability that Prime Minister Shastri should have included him in the Cabinet.

Ever interested in the conditions of Indians in Africa, it was on Patil's initiative that Shri Brihad Bharatiya Samaj was established to foster closer relations with the motherland. He has been the President of the Samaj since its inception. He toured Africa and the Middle East several times in connection with the work of the Samaj and it is a measure of his interest that the Samaj has been able to build a first-class hostel in Bombay.

Patil has always had a flair for construction; he converted the ramshackle buildings within the Congress House into modern structures and the rent obtained from them would more than pay for the administrative expenses of the BPCC.

A member of the AICC for over three decades, he has been an influential member of the Congress High Command for many years and has also been the Treasurer of the Congress. It was when Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya was elected President of the

A WELL-WISHER OF THE CELLULOID WORLD

I cherish the 22nd March 1950 as a memorable day in my life, because it was on that day that I had the pleasure of Shri Patil's company for quite a few hours when he was the Chairman of the Film Enquiry Committee. A few minutes' conversation with him was enough to convince me that in him the Motion Picture Industry had a sincere well-wisher. The present project for a Film Industry and a Film Finance Corporation are really the implementations of the recommendations that he made in his Film Enquiry Committee Report, a decade and a half ago.

—SHRI S. S. VASAN

DYNAMIC AND INDOMITABLE

SHRI G. S. MELKOTE

I have known Shri S. K. Patil for more than two decades and have always wondered at his dynamism and indomitable spirit. He has been tested by the Congress, on various occasions and it should be said to his credit that each time he has proved himself a match and brought a resounding success to the organization. In Parliament, opposition benches make every effort to discredit him but his mastery of facts and eloquence make him win over even the opposition to his point of view. Jovial by nature and kind by temperament he has friends in every walk of life. He has won the admiration of the people. We all pray for HIS choicest blessings for Shri S. K. Patil for a long life of usefulness and service to the Nation.

Jaipur Session of the Congress that he toyed with the idea of dropping Patil from the Working Committee; it was then that Sardar Patel told Dr. Pata-bhi that he would retire in favour of Patil.

Versatile as he has been in his interests; Patil has been one of the pillars of the film industry in the country. He has pleaded for the entertainment industry; and it was not surprising that when the Government of India appointed a Film Enquiry Commission, he should have been appointed as Chairman. He rendered yeoman service and the stars of the silver screen twinkle at him even now.

Neither a prude nor a puritan, Patil has never affected any ascetic pose; and he has never shown any great admiration for poverty, voluntary or otherwise. His wit, like Ithuriel's spear, can be devastating against crude hangers-on of Ashramite politics, the overfed and the underbred.

Patil loves the good things of life and he is not ashamed to confess it. A genial host, he is an excellent conversationalist with an endless repertoire of jokes and anecdotes, though some of them may appear too pungent.

It is his readiness to help the lame dog over the stile that has endeared him to the public. When he returned to Bombay after being sworn in as a Minister of the Union Cabinet, he was literally deluged with garlands at the Santa Cruz airport. But tears welled out of this strong man when a couple of blind children approached him with garlands.

Many are the organisations that he has helped with his powerful support in collecting funds. Be it the Sardar Patel Engineering College or the Shanmukhananda Sabha, his support is never

stinted. There is nothing communal or parochial in his interests.

Patil is proud that Bombay is a cosmopolitan city and he lives up to that high tradition. It is no wonder that Homi Mody, with his puckish humour, should have referred to him some time ago as one of the greatest institutions of the city.

Innumerable are the students who have approached Patil for help and rarely has there been a case of the seeker going away disappointed. He has risen the hard way and he is determined to lend a helping hand to those in the lower rungs of the ladder.

If Patil is loved by the masses, he is bitterly assailed by the pseudo-intellectuals. With them, criticism of Patil has become a frame of mind, a free-masonry. Scheming incompetence detests him because it cannot beguile him. The fact is that Patil is a born fighter and a challenge is music to his ears.

Patil is 65 today; but he speaks with no diminished fire, he acts with no lessened force. Some people grow old prematurely, and a few remain perpetually adolescent like caricatures of Markandeya. Patil is in an intermediate category—young enough to possess idealism, enthusiasm and vigour in abundance and old enough to have acquired experience, maturity and wisdom.

It is this rare amalgam that has been responsible for his having been the uncrowned King of Bombay for over three decades. On the occasion of his birthday, millions will wish themselves many happy returns of the day.

EVER A HELPING HAND

SHRI M. B. PIMPULKAR

Honourable Shri S. K. Patil, Union Minister for Railways, will be sixty-five years of age on the 14th August 1965. He has a race with time and untiringly he has been running it. All honour to him for his brilliant performance.

Shri Patil is one who believes in boosting up deserving causes and people connected with them. That is the secret of his very wide popularity, not only in Bombay, but even in the farthest corners of our country. He speaks for such causes with a convincing and appealing argument and his words bring the desired results. Such is his potent oratory. And when he takes upon himself to guide the course of a project, he spares no pains and leaves no stone unturned. Such is his tenacity and organisational capacity. And fortunate as he is, he gets around him a lot of people who would willingly do everything that he wants them to do—of course, with that spirit of selflessness.

Shri Patil is a man of many parts. His interest in literature and art, in education and social service, in civic and political problems is so keen, vital and genuine that a host of institutions look upon him, with confident hope for correct guidance and encouraging support.

It is needless for me to give any account here of his meritorious service to Bombay and the Bombay Municipal Corporation, or to the B.P.C.C. or the Congress for years together, as it is a fact that has gone down in history and would be written in letters of gold.

I only wish to make mention of Shri Patil's association with the Associated Advertisers and Printers. All of us—the workers and the higher officers alike hold Shri Patil in the highest esteem and love. He bears the same feelings towards us.

His attitude has always been sympathetic and co-operative when he was with us, as a presiding deity. He founded this institution in 1935 and guided its destinies very deftly, till 1950. Without exaggeration could it be said that he had developed fatherly relations with the workers and we all used to work under him with a warm family feeling.

Because of his multifarious activities and the consequent responsibilities he had to shoulder, he entrusted the institution to the care of Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan. But his interest was as keen as ever and his sense of the welfare of the workers prompted him to see that they were all well placed and financially contented. Even when he could not find time to be in the midst of the current affairs of the institution, his word of advice was always sought and had always helped in strengthening the ties between the workers and their superiors and the employers.

Before I joined this institution, I personally had no acquaintance with Shri Patil and hence I wrote to him requesting him to help me with an assignment. This large-hearted man immediately called me and accommodated me in his institution and thereby really helped me in my time of need. I can, with fullest confidence say, with my own experience that Shri Patil always loves to encourage promising and dutiful young men who are eager to make progress in life, and there alone lies his satisfaction. It is really commendable on the part of Shri Patil's friends, colleagues and admirers to promote a scheme of a Public Trust in his esteemed name, on the auspicious occasion of his 65th birthday. We pray to the Almighty to bestow upon Shri Patil, a long life full of good health, of useful service to the nation on all its fronts, with the same valour and courage and insight which have become his synonyms.

THE FOUR SEEDS

No man is without a merciful and tender heart; no man is without a heart for shame and indignation; no man is without a heart to give way and yield; no man is without a heart for right and wrong.

A merciful and tender heart is the seed of love; a heart for shame and indignation is the seed of right; a heart to give way and yield is the seed of courtesy; a heart for right and wrong is the seed of wisdom.

Man has these four seeds in him. Having these four seeds in him, every man that makes them all sprout and grow is as a fire that begins to burn, as a spring that begins to flow.

—MENCIUS

At a table richly laid!



(i) With Shri Balvantray Mehta, CM of Gujarat, Shri Babubhai Chinai, M.P. and Smt. Kamani.
(ii) With prominent German Cine Artists and the famed Indian Danseuse Vyjayanthimala.



A RARE SPORTSMAN AMONG POLITICIANS

Shri S. K. Patil's great reputation as an organiser, statesman and administrator are wellknown and need no comments. But it is as a sportsman that I have known Shri Patil intimately and have been tremendously impressed by his knowledge of sports, his outlook on all healthy recreation and his willingness to do—whatever he can for sports and sportsmen in this country.

Whenever any approach has been made to him to preside at sports prize-distributions, we have never received a “no” for an answer. If dates are not convenient to him, he would offer alternate dates and sometimes even alternate timings for the same dates. At those functions, he has not been a mere figurehead or a speech-maker. He has always said something constructive, something that would give food for thought even to sports administrators, something which would inspire sportsmen to still greater efforts for the cause of sports in India and the national sporting prestige. I have yet to remember any function in which he has not spoken something most constructive for the cause of sport in India.

Always practical, blunt, forceful, constructive and tremendously enthusiastic, Shri Patil impressed me as a great sporting personality. In India there have been a few politicians among sportsmen but Shri Patil is a rare sportsman among politicians. May he continue to take that same interest in sports and sportsmen in India for a long, long time!

—SHRI VIJAY MERCHANT

A Loyal Friend and A Noble Leader

Shri Atulya Ghosh

On the fourteenth of August, 1965, one of our foremost leaders and an outstanding personality of India steps into his 65th birthday. His name is Shri S. K. Patil.

India today, has few persons of such eminence and stature as Shri S. K. Patil possesses. The leadership of Shri Patil was not born overnight or thrust upon by any outside agency; but it was due to his continuous and selfless service that he rendered to his countrymen for nearly two decades. During his long and eventful career he not only took a prominent part in the political field of his State and also of India, but he took a keen interest in many social and cultural activities which proved him as a man of versatile genius. It was under his patronage and guidance that the famous N.K.M. International House of Shri Brihad Bharatiya Samaj was founded in Bombay.

To the Congress organisation S. K. Patil has always been a tower of strength. He was thrice elected Mayor of Bombay city and he served both the organisation and the Government as and when the occasion demanded from him. His great organisational power has not only brought an unique political stability in the State but it helped a great



"For the last thirty years he has been like an elder brother to me, who has blessed me with his love."

deal in maintaining the political solidarity of the country.

Personally I find it somewhat difficult to write about S. K. Patil who has been like an elder brother to me for the last thirty years. During this long period, he had blessed me with his love, affection and wise counsel without any reservation whatsoever and has never failed us at the time of necessity. The outstanding quality in him, is, perhaps, his unflinching allegiance to his friends which has made S. K. Patil a noble and great leader in the true sense of the term.

S. K. Patil is 65 today. India needs his services for many years to come. On this auspicious day I join with the innumerable friends and well-wishers of S. K. Patil in offering my humble tribute and respectful felicitations to his magnificent personality.

A TRIBUTE

—SHRI P. KODANDA RAO

I feel honoured by the invitation to contribute an article to the *Souvenir* in honour of Mr. S. K. Patil whom I respect both for public and personal reasons. It has been a great satisfaction for me that he and I shared common views on Linguistic States and Unitary Government of India. In co-operation with the late Mr. C. P. Mathen, M.P., he gave me two opportunities to address some members of Parliament in Parliament House, New Delhi, under the auspices of the Indian Parliamentary Group on these two subjects. He also gave me several opportunities to address public meetings on public questions in Bombay under the auspices of the Bombay Pradesh Congress Committee, even though I was a critic of the Congress.

In his letter to me, dated Bombay Oct. 11, 1953, he said:

"I am quite aware of your views on the subject (Linguistic States), and we are all anxious to hear your views at a meeting which unfortunately could not be held on account of your indisposition. Next time you are in Bombay we hope we shall have an opportunity of hearing.

"I agree with you that those who are opposed to this further division of India must organise themselves and popularise their views more positively and vigorously than is done at present." Such an invitation for such a purpose and from such a person was indeed a great honour to me.

On March 27, 1954, Mr. Patil presided over a meeting of some members of Parliament in New Delhi under the auspices of the Indian National Unity Platform to oppose the reorganisation of India on the linguistic basis. Mr. C. P. Mathen was Secretary, and among those who were appointed to the committee to draft the memorandum were Dr. Satyanarayana Sinha, Mr. Frank Anthony and Mr. Jaipal Singh.

On February 25, 1956 Mr. Patil arranged another meeting, under the auspices of the Indian Parliamentary Group in Parliament House, New Delhi, for me to address in favour of Unitary Government for India.

I cannot help feeling that if Mr. Patil's views against Linguistic States and in favour of Unitary Government of India had prevailed, the develop-

ment of Indian polity would have been very much more satisfactory, and the fissiparous pulls, which threaten to Balkanise India into linguistic sovereignties, would have been nipped in the bud, and India would have had, not only self-government, but also good government; at any rate a government much better than the present one. Mr. Patil saw ahead and saw wisely. It was not his fault that his views did not prevail.

Another admirable quality of Mr. Patil is his freedom from narrow party orthodoxy in outlook. His views on Linguistic States and Unitary Government are examples of it. The latest instance of it is his preference for *State control*, as against *State ownership*, of industry, though, paradoxically enough, he is at the moment in charge of perhaps the largest State-owned industry, namely, the Indian Railways! In his speech at the function of the Canara Bank, Bangalore, on April 19, 1965, he did not hesitate to advocate publicly the policy of State control as against State ownership, which at the time was somewhat unorthodox according to the dogmas of the Congress Party. His courage paid dividends, since his view is becoming steadily, if slowly, orthodox with the Congress!

On general principles, in a polity based on the party system, particularly the parliamentary one, it is inevitable that the party in power should govern the country in its own interest rather than in the interest of the public. The first and foremost objective of the party is to perpetuate itself in power, and adopt all means, not necessarily all fair, to do so. State ownership of industry means in effect ownership by the ruling party and for the ruling party. Even state control is not free from that bias. It is only a national government that can govern in public interest, and control private sector to protect the consumers from exploitation by the producers, both capital and labour, and act as an umpire.

In the same speech in Bangalore, Mr. Patil advocated that even nationalised industry should aim at profits. I venture respectfully to differ from him. Profit is the surplus of income over expenditure, after making allowance for repairs, renewals and reserves to insure against unforeseen contingencies.

a forum for high-sounding but empty speeches; action for better civic amenities was hardly the goal of the City Fathers. Patil was not slow to expose the hollowness of the debates and with a pungent pen he poured ridicule on the bombastic pomp of the speakers, who, after the Phirozshah Mehta era, presented a picture of degeneration.

It was in the early twenties, and the Congress was spreading out into local self-governing bodies. As if from nowhere the journalist emerged on the civic scene. Patil's advent may be said to mark the beginning of the Municipal Congress Party which he groomed into a powerful force for the good of the community. It did not take many years for Patil to show his mettle. To many others experience in civic affairs provided the training ground for bigger activity; but Patil imparted to civic work the drive which was the motive force of his life and work in many wider spheres in the years to come.

While most others wooed the Congress party to secure a foothold in the Municipal Corporation and legislative bodies, Patil moved from civic activity to organisational work for the Congress. Patil's biggest achievement was the consolidation of the Bombay Provincial Congress solidation of the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee of which he was the principal architect. What Patil was to Bombay City, the city was, is and will be to Patil—he loves it as few others do. Even today he is not happy unless he visits his city at least once a week. *Bombay is Patil, and, although he has now become an all-India leader, Patil is still Bombay.*

This was soon proved in the early thirties. The uncrowned King of Bombay, which Patil had become by then—and still continues to be—dominated almost every aspect of the city's life. Those were the days of the Salt Satyagraha, of Khadi, Charkha and Takli, which today are but symbols; one could count regular 'spinnings' on one's fingers now. Those were days when mill cloth was frowned upon and textile mills were picketed, Patil was the man behind it all. He virtually brought the rich and powerful mill magnates to their knees and made them sign concordats with the Bombay Pradesh Congress Committee. It was relatively easy to get the Indian millowners to do so; but Patil made even the British-owned mills like Finlays to bow to the Congress.

As a fund-raiser Patil was non-pareil. He amassed innumerable lakhs for the Congress even during

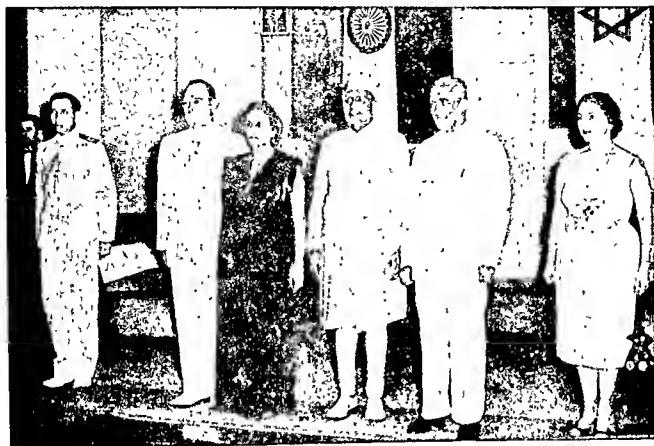
periods when the institution was out-lawed. And money flowed not only from patriots, friends and sympathisers of the Congress but also from avowed enemies of the country and of the Congress. The truth of the matter was that they dared not displease Patil. They loved him not undoubtedly, but the men on the other side feared him certainly.

By far the greatest trait in Patil's make-up was loyalty and trust. By his own loyalty he inspired the same sentiment in those whom he chose to work for him. Today those who will do anything for Patil are legion. He will do, and does, anything for them. This is the secret of his unparalleled success in organising many a session of the Congress and the All India Congress Committee. His men slaved all round the clock—for the Congress, of course, but more for him. If Patil is anything, he is an organising genius.

It would do injustice to Patil to say that he is just a "party boss." His understanding of public problems is quick and complete and his solutions equitable and effective. He is an efficient administrator and his firm decisions have been accepted even by the aggrieved, because he is known to be not unsympathetic. For this reason he is as popular as a Minister as he was as a non-official. He is one of the most accessible of our Union Ministers and even when he has to say "No", the other man understands.

A large feather in Patil's cap is his remarkable and repeated success as an electioneer. Here he is a champion. For more than thirty years he has been continually sought after by party candidates from the Punjab and Bengal to Kerala and Tamil Nad. The secret? His powerful oratory. The opposition has invariably wilted under his lashes. A lovable feature of his oratory is his humour which is enjoyed even by the victim. Lest it be said that this article is only praise, I feel like adding that Patil's humour is sometimes not quite of the drawing-room type. Of course, that is only because his audiences are not always the elite.

If anyone were to ask me which one of the many lovable qualities of Patil I like most, I would unhesitatingly say that it is his infinite capacity for, and constant practice of, genuine friendship. To him a proved friend is a friend for all time. It goes without saying that his friends feel the same way towards him. I am one such friend, and I salute him on the occasion of his sixtyfifth birthday and wish him many a long year of patriotic service and true friendship.



Shri S. K. Patil with Shri Sri Prakasa (former Governor of Bombay)

It is a matter of great joy and satisfaction to large numbers of the friends of Shri S. K. Patil that in a country where life is so notoriously short, he is able to celebrate his 65th birth-day in good health and cheer. It is but right and proper that we his friends and colleagues, should gather around him and rejoice with him on this happy day.

It is not given to many to become a legend in their own life-time. Shri S. K. Patil is among those who have become one. I myself, for instance, heard of him and knew of his public work in Bombay and elsewhere, long before I had the privilege of knowing him personally. He always has had a great reputation for efficient organisation, and naturally he has ever been in great demand for conducting elections on behalf of the Congress wherever local workers were faced with danger and difficulty. Shri Patil has always had the capacity of turning defeat into victory.

If I remember aright, the very first time that I actually saw him, was at an airport when he was being taken to some place in the interior of Madras or Andhra Pradesh by anxious friends who were full of fears of imminent defeat. As they accosted me—I was Governor of Madras then and so was expected not to take any interest in such matters—I could not help telling them: "Now that you have Mr. Patil with you, you need have no fears. You are bound to succeed"; and they did succeed as the results of the elections proved.

I came in close touch with Mr. Patil really when I became the Governor of the composite State of Bombay. I had occasion to visit the palatial buildings of the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee which really I had known from before. Mr. Patil was a high functionary there at the time—I do not remember what office he actually held—but this I know that he has always been a most

important figure in Bombay politics, and has held a high place in the Congress organisation and in the esteem of fellow Congressmen.

Mr. Patil is a most efficient office man and exceedingly punctilious in the matter of correspondence. I do not remember his having not replied to any letter of mine. Being an extensive letter-writer myself, I had occasion to correspond with all sorts of persons on all sorts of matters. Whether I addressed Mr. Patil as a non-official or an official, I always received courteous attention from him. If there was a possibility of delay in attending to any matter that I presented to him, he or his Secretary would send a preliminary acknowledgment of my communication, which was later followed up by full and detailed replies. In our country, it is not very often realised that courtesy requires attention to letters. I know that public men are very often over-burdened with correspondence, and it is not always easy for them specially when they have no office equipment and resources with them, to attend to every paper that comes to them. Still it is true that the courtesy of a reply is very greatly appreciated even if the reply is in the negative. Mr. Patil is justly popular for his keeping up contacts with everyone who cares to approach him either personally or by letter.

Mr. Patil must be an extraordinarily hard-working person. I have had no opportunity of actually seeing him at work, but judging from the fact that all his work is really up-to-date all the time, I cannot help feeling that he must be devoting a good deal of his time in attending to the details of any work that he has on hand, whether as a non-official or as responsible Minister. Even so, what strikes me particularly about him, is that he is always available and apparently always at leisure. No one has ever seen him flurried or worried. He has a pleasant word for everyone, and is blessed with a high sense of humour which we all very greatly value.

His greatest love is Bombay from which it is just impossible to tear him away. When he accepted an assignment in the Central Cabinet at Delhi, he told his friends in Bombay who had gathered to bid him Godspeed, that he would always spend his weekends there. He has been as good as his word. How he manages to do so, is anyone's guess. I for myself am truly amazed. He is always kept busy, whether at Delhi or Bombay or anywhere else for he takes his duties very seriously. He would

Magical Personality

Shri Patil is a personage who does not know of half measures. He puts his whole soul into anything that he undertakes; and sees to it that the cause succeeds. With his unparalleled capacity for organisation, with his giant intellect, with his disciplined enthusiasm and his instinctive sense of practicality, opposition crumbles down, enemies bow and smile, obstacles vanish and mighty things are done as if by the touch of a fairy's wand. There is a magic in his personality, and that magic is 'accomplishment.' He has only to touch a thing, and the thing is done.

—DR. T. K. N. TRIVIKRAM

gladly travel long distances in order to fulfil his responsibilities, whether as a Food or Railway Minister. Everyone is free to go up to him with a grievance, and may also be sure of his sympathetic attention.

For such a busy man as politician and administrator, it is indeed surprising how he can be such a big social figure as well, being constantly in demand here, there and everywhere, for this purpose or for that. He suffers from no inhibitions; and gladly goes to the opening of restaurants where dining, drinking and dancing are in full swing, inaugurating them with words of appreciation and encouragement, as he goes to meetings where negotiations are to be undertaken on serious national and international problems. He is a fluent speaker with a ready tongue, and knows exactly what to say and when to say it. He is indeed a great gentleman who is at home everywhere and with everyone.

On the happy occasion of his 65th birthday, I join all his friends, colleagues and admirers in offering him my heartiest felicitations, greetings and good wishes. I pray that he may long be spared to us to continue his good work in diverse fields of public activity, and stand as an example of how one should carry on one's work courageously and persistently through good report and evil, regardless of results. I also pray with his friends that he may ever enjoy every health and happiness, and that all may always be well with him and his.

SWEET & REFRESHING MEMORIES

SHRI R. R. DĪWAKĀR

If I were to be given the choice to live in the present times of our hard-earned freedom and those heroic days of our struggle for freedom, I would without hesitation choose the latter. I remember that Wordsworth while speaking of the days of the French Revolution, has remarked 'how glorious it was to live in those times'.

Harkening back to the days of the Civil Disobedience Movement of 1930-31, I feel that a vigorous breeze of pure motives and unlimited sacrifices come to my mind. It was in such times that I first came in contact with Shri S. K. Patil, who was popularly known as Sadoba. Of course, he is even now known among closer friends as Sadoba.

I recall especially the days when I met him in Bombay while I was there for collecting some relief funds for the brave No-tax heroes of Ankola, Sirsi, Siddapur and Hirekerur. The campaign had been over and I could easily see that the No-tax campaigns in Karnatak were the severest, most trying and were fought with sheer bravery without any breakdowns. It is unfortunate that Karnatak could not have the same publicity as campaigns in other places. The aftermath, however, of the campaign was the suffering of hundreds of peasants who had lost their all, including their houses which were on their farms. I may not be very correct in quoting figures; but I think about 800 peasant families had suffered heaviest losses including confiscation of lands and houses. Many of the families had also sent a number of their family-members to jail. Many destitute children had to be picked up and cared for some years.

I had been myself in jail during the period of the struggle and I came out only in 1934, when I was faced with the problem of relief of these suffering peasants. Some work of relief had already been started, but much remained to be done.

Though some efforts were made in Karnatak itself, quick response was difficult, and I thought of going to Bombay with friends like Shri Karmarkar, Hukerikar and others.

The one man in Bombay who responded with his whole heart to this effort of ours was Shri S. K.



Patil, who was then the General-Secretary of the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee. His co-worker, Shri Ganapathishankar Desai was entirely working whole-time with us and, within a fortnight or so, we could get a sizable amount to start out relief work on some decent basis.

Not that Shri Patil had no other work on hand. He was the busiest of the Congress workers and yet, he kept the machinery of publicity as well as of workers at our disposal and himself took care to press his friends to help us as the cause deserved the possible help though the least publicised.

The next time that I came in contact with him was in Nasik Jail, when more than 150 of us were living in the same premises as persons who had been either sentenced or detained under what was called Individual Civil Disobedience. I had often times occasions of discussing with him many problems common to Congress workers. While yielding to none in the matter of principles, he always took a very sane and practical view and gave us guidance from time to time. I think most of the important workers of Karnatak knew him at close quarters as he was with many of them for a few months in jail in Visapur.

After freedom when I was the Minister for Information and Broadcasting, I thought of him for the Chairmanship of the Film Enquiry Committee. Some colleagues were no doubt surprised at my

Shri Patil with the famed American actor Gregory Peck. Others in the picture are Shri J. C. Jain, Dev Anand, Kamini Kaushal, Mrs. Dev Anand, Mohd. Rafi, Bimal Roy, Meena Kumari and American Ambassador Mr. G. V. Allen.



choice. But the thoroughness with which Shri Patil handled a very difficult problem speaks for this deep interest in everything that affects the human mind as a media for mass communication. Many of the recommendations of the Film Enquiry Committee were later adopted by the Government of India even after I went to Bihar as Governor.

It speaks highly of Shri Patil to have been the real kingmaker in the cosmopolitan mighty city of Bombay for more than twelve years. Whoever was the President, he continued to be General-Secretary, and he handled the heterogeneous population with consummate skill. It is this ability which,

coupled with his organising power, makes him almost a wizard in electioneering campaigns.

Now that he is in the Union Ministry for years, he has shown his quick grasp of various subjects and also executive capacity. He is known for his drive and also sledge hammer oratory which equally serves him on the Chowpatty sands as in the Parliament. In conversation few can beat him for wit and humour of a rare type. Above all, he is a social type and a mixer who can be found to be friendly in any company.

I think that there is a great future for him since he is only sixty-five.



Shri Patil at one of the functions organised by some leading men of the film industry. In the picture are seen some top ranking Bombay stars.

Freedom To Differ

DR. C. P. RAMASWAMY AIYAR,
Vice-Chancellor, Annamalai University.

It cannot be denied that one of the main aims of life is to secure richness and variety of experience, and no culture can be real unless it produces and maintains intellectual, emotional and spiritual maturity and fullness. In other words, the development of human personality is, and should be, the ideal which all Societies and Governments should keep in view.

The above objectives will be attained only if the utmost freedom is conceded in respect of the formation and expression of opinion. Fully appreciating this point of view, our ancestors in India enunciated two fundamental doctrines—firstly as Sankarachariar emphasised, that true wisdom can be attained only as the result of thorough investigation; and secondly, that the acid test of any opinion, philosophic, religious, social or political, is its reconciliation with one's own experience as apart from crude adoption of other's views or practices. Furthermore, it is not open to doubt that any Government, and especially any democracy, can flourish and evolve only in proportion to its encouragement of a free and fearless discussion of all public affairs. Organisations like legislatures, the Press and the Radio fulfil their purposes effectively in proportion to the extent to which they facilitate such discussion. Public opinion should not be canalised or bludgeoned into a pattern of conformity either at the behest of a Government or, as often happens in some Western countries, by Press barons acting at the behest of business or political interests working behind the scenes. If, in any country, publicity cannot be easily secured for candid criticism because persons in authority or in charge of the organs of public opinion frown on it, then, truly, liberty is at stake. It is true that ultimate control and discipline are not merely desirable but essential in some matters

and no one can argue in favour of a liberty that degenerates into licence. It has been wisely observed in this connection that the following requisites have to prevail in a civilised society, namely, unity in a few fundamental things, liberty in all other things and finally, charity in all things. When we recollect the age-long practice of tolerance in this country exemplified, for instance, in Lord Buddha being venerated as an Avatar notwithstanding that he opposed some of the main tenets of Hinduism, and when we further remember that materialistic and even atheistic tenets were included in the curriculum and studied by our students of philosophy as "Darsanas" or thought-processes seen and experienced, it should be unnecessary to argue against the tyranny over the mind which is now over-taking many countries. It is manifested in open or subtle propaganda which may ultimately culminate in brain-washing, forced confessions and so-called purges of which we have had many instances before and after the Stalin controversy.

The importance of independent judgment and its relation to practical conduct have occupied the attention of many thinkers one of the foremost of whom was John Morley. His treatise on "Compromise" has summed up the position trenchantly and clearly. That position may be summarised as follows: A person who takes the trouble to form his own opinion cannot but feel that he owes no responsibility to a temporary or even a permanent majority for its conclusions. In the formation of such an opinion with reference to political, religious or social topics in the abstract or even in the preferableness of one course of action over another or in the validity or otherwise of any proposition, the circumstance that a person is in a minority is of no consequence. In the language of John Mor-

ley, "any other view would dull the edge of responsibility and deaden the sense of personal answerableness either to a God or to a Society or one's own conscience and—intellectual selflessness". But when such an opinion or belief has to be implemented in the practical conduct of life, the position may be different. As has been wisely stated, for the carrying on of social life, the old must continue so long as the new is not ready. Such a compromise is necessary to secure normal development. In the endeavour to convert a theory into practice, it is the path of wisdom to practise the utmost sobriety, self-restraint and conciliatoriness.

Mr. Aldous Huxley has been recently contributing a series of articles inveighing against open and occult forms of mental coercion. While theoretically, persons are willing to admit that an exhilarating sense of individual incentive is true freedom, yet one realises that the present economic crisis, the desire to get quick results in planning and the well-publicised achievements of certain totalitarian countries tend to regimentation of effort which, too often, demands regimentation of thought and impatience of opposition. It is too rarely conceded that in religion, politics and social problems, there is always some truth on the other side. Democracy would be a mockery and Parliaments would not justify even their names if Government by discussion gave place to Governments by fiat. The need for a political opposition is often re-iterated; but the pronouncements of the opposition are too often not treated with tolerance or deference or even with respect. The result is that, as Shri K. Santhanam has stated in the Preface to his brochure on Planning, it is not easy to think and judge for oneself the implications of far-reaching plans and policies and the temptation to adopt the view of one's political party is almost irresistible.

The Press, for several reasons and in many countries, depends for its existence on advertisement revenue and on Government patronage and it is easier to mouth the prevalent slogans than to be detached and alert; and it is specially difficult for a journal with an eye to circulation to go counter to current prejudice or to strongly-backed slogans.

The normal man who is pre-occupied with the problems of his own existence and does not, in most cases, possess the energy and time carefully to study public problems, is apt to develop the tendency to hand over the responsibility for judgment to some persons of group that commands popular support. This instinct of escapism is the true reason for the easy acceptance of Military Rule in newly liberated countries. Some political or economic object or some popular programme is advocated as the only solution for the ills of the body politic and we observe in Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Sudan, Pakistan, Burma and Indonesia, in the complicated evolutions of Soviet policy, in the enthronement of successive experiments like collective farming and the Commune system in China, this obliteration of the individual and the enthronement of mass-produced identity of opinion. Such identity of opinions and catch-words is sometimes created and always encouraged by the indoctrination of mass-produced journals and the radio organisation. Even an intrinsically freedom loving nation like the French who invented the phrase "Liberty, Equality and Fraternity" has succumbed in crises to the temptation of accepting a dictator (Napoleon I or Napoleon III or De Gaulle).

It is often insisted that some plan or programme or ideal is indispensable or essential; but as William Pitt urged long ago, "Necessity is the plea for every infringement of human freedom. It is the argument of tyrants and it is the creed of slaves". The consolation is that however perversely influenced, human nature, somehow or other, rights itself ultimately. A French philosopher observed:

*Chassez le naturel
Il revient au galop*

(You may chase Nature out of sight but it returns at a gallop). The scientific, political or religious heresies of today, very often, become the accepted doctrines of tomorrow. One need only cite the instances of Galileo, Giordano Bruno and Martin Luther and Dr. Besant in the West, Ram Mohan Roy, Swami Vivekananda and Gandhiji and the great social and religious reformers throughout the world including Buddha, Jesus Christ and Muhammad.

In The Words
of
Jerome K. Jerome

42510



"I like work.

It fascinates me.

I can sit and look at it for hours.

I love to keep it by me.

The idea of getting rid of it nearly breaks my heart."

At present, in India, the influential creed is Socialism whose doctrines proceed on the principle that individual freedom should be subordinated to the interests of the community. While such a doctrine may be valid to some extent, yet it cannot be too strongly emphasised that the subordination of individual freedom should be confined to the most manifestly essential things and that a constant watch has to be kept over all efforts which may submerge the individual and create a under supervision. The dangers of State regulation culminating in brain-washing and ironing out differ-

ences of outlook are too real to be ignored. The world today is presenting a spectacle of cultural anarchy and economic uncertainty and imbalance which offers many temptations to the increase of regimentation and the submergence of personality as well as intolerance of opposition and reluctance to follow the middle path. An increasing number of thoughtful persons are, however, convinced that, given a fair chance, human beings will govern themselves better than with perhaps less mechanical efficiency, they can be governed from outside and forced into pre-determined courses of conduct.

SHRI PATIL: A PERSONAL ESTIMATE

Shri PREM BHATIA

My earliest notable memory of Mr. S. K. Patil is of his participation in the Meerut Congress session of 1946. This was a session of giants, and on the dais were such celebrities as Mr. Nehru, Sardar Patel, Maulana Azad, Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant and Mr. Morarji Desai.

There was a powerful controversy over a resolution touching on the communal situation, which was fast deteriorating under the threat of the Muslim League's "direct action". I still remember the frightening warning by Sardar Patel and the subsequent rejoinder by Maulana Azad. Talk about the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh had begun to be heard, and the new President, Mr. J. B. Kripalani, had an awkward moment when a Punjabi member of the audience got up to ask: "What shall we do about the Sangh?" The session was truly historic inasmuch as it was the last before independence.

One had heard of Mr. S. K. Patil as a Bombay leader, but it was not until I listened to one of his speeches that I realised that he was a coming man in more than the provincial sense. His commanding personality and the clarity of his expression made an immediate impact on my mind. There was something impressively neat about this person, and this neatness has been maintained to this day.

But to this neatness has now been added so much experience and, of course, maturity. Mr. Patil is a fighter but not cantankerous. He has principles but no fads. He lives well and in comfort but he is not unmindful of the needs of the less fortunate people. He is a man of decision but is not abrupt.

It is largely because of these qualities and his friendliness that he inspires so much loyalty among those who know him. It is rarely that a Minister out of office retains the loyalty of friends and the

subordinates of a happier period. Mr. Patil has been able to do that for the simple reason that his interests lie beyond his personal welfare. There are hundreds of people—not only in Bombay—who have cause to remember his goodness and his help. There are many who would not think twice about going out of their way to carry out his wishes.

It is difficult to imagine what the Congress Party would have done without his now acknowledged capacity to raise funds for the party. Not every wealthy person is always willing to part with money. Yet the wealthy in this country have trusted him, and the Congress Party through him. When he held relatively aloof from the recent mid-term election in Kerala, the financial side of the Congress campaign inevitably suffered. It is easy enough to condemn a political leader as a "rich men's agent". Few realise, however, what it means to be able to inspire confidence and to appeal effectively to the rich man's sense of obligation to a political cause.

With all his informality and accessibility Mr. S. K. Patil has a certain majestic aloofness. He has the dignity of a man who respects himself as well as others. He is able to exercise that dignity because he is remarkably free from fear. From this freedom from fear arises his courage to express his convictions. This does not always conform to the expectations of some of his colleagues in the party, but Mr. Patil has invariably chosen not to yield to the common temptation of trying to please everyone.

My contacts with him have been essentially as a journalist. It has been a refreshing experience to see him in various situations, of triumph as well as disappointment. But I have rarely seen in his attitude a trace of defeatism. His healthy outlook on life and his vigour have been great assets as a Minister, particularly when he was in charge of the Food portfolio.

In course of years my acquaintance with Mr. S. K. Patil has crossed the limited field of contacts between a journalist and a political leader. I have found him affectionate and trusting. In my own scale of values the quality of trust is among the highest, and since trust begets trust, Mr. S. K. Patil knows that he has never been let down by the Press.

The life of S. K. Patil reads like a poem. Orphaned at the age of ten, without family resources to cover the parental loss, with several younger brothers and sisters to support, it was his determination to over-take success which at the time was far ahead of him that gives an inspiring touch to his career. His education was incomplete when the clarion call of Gandhiji (1920) worked metamorphosis in the thinking mind of the ambitious young Patil who like many other sensitive young men and women aligned with the national movement to give a new halo of respectability to the history of India. On relinquishing his studies he utilised his time and energy in assisting schools of national education to preserve the youthful exuberance of those young patriots who left the government-financed institutions under directions of Gandhiji and who as national assets were to provide future leadership of the country. The first non-cooperation movement though it laid the foundations of India's freedom failed "to win Swaraj" in a year. It was followed by ten years of frustration that Gandhiji wisely converted into an interlude to prepare the country for the next bigger struggle of 1930.

Patil resumed his studies and secured admission to London School of Economics and alongside joined the London School of Journalism. On return to India in 1927 he found that the country had taken to the old policy of co-operation with the British Government and the nationalist spirit was in dole drums. He, therefore, joined the Bombay Chronicle, since closed, and though in subsequent years active politics impelled him into thick of the fight and helped him to many important assignments in Bombay Provincial Congress Committee, journalism remained his spiritual solace.

He shows occasional nostalgic attachment to a profession that plays a higher role in building democracy than political leadership. So great is the influence of the 'fourth Estate' in moulding public opinion that Napoleon often said that two hostile newspapers were more powerful than a thousand bayonets. Patil's attachment to journalism is profound and in his passports he puts down journalism as his profession.

In between 1930 and 1945 he became a jail bird and spent about ten years behind the bars as a political prisoner. His grip on the BPCC was so abiding that he continued its General Secretary for seventeen years and President for ten years. No

THE LIFE THAT READS LIKE A POEM

—SHRI CHANDRA BHANU GUPTA

Congress leader in the country held those two high organisational offices for such a long time either in continuity or with breaks. Patil drew inspiration from Sardar Patel and his protective wings built his career that received setback when Patel was not there to lend him a helping hand. Patel was a great organiser. His organising genius at Bardoli and Borsad induced Gandhiji to confer on him the title of Sardar. He needed a man to assist him in Bombay and he spotted Patil and put him in command of the State congress organisation. Mr. S. K. Patil knows that there is no greater virtue in life than gratitude and frankly admits that "what little I know of organisation and administration I have learnt from that great man Sardar Patel".

In 1957, he joined the Central Government and moved on from the Irrigation and Power Ministry to the Transport and Communication Ministry. Two years afterwards he was transferred to the Food Ministry where half a dozen Ministers had fumbled and made unimpressive exits. It was feared that Patil may also find the Food portfolio his undoing. But he escaped the fall and by-passed the graveyard. Food production in India lags behind rise in population and imports alone save the situation. "Patil's most spectacular coup" writes Welles Hagen "came on May 4, 1960, when he strode the White House to conclude the largest agreement for American Aid since the Marshall Plan—The agreement signed by President Eisenhower and Patil provided for 16 million tons of American surplus wheat and one million tons of rice to be sold to India for rupees under Public Law 480". The agreement was made at a time when food crisis in India threatened to subvert the whole economy of the country. But Patil's optimism above self-sufficiency in food during the Third Five Year Plan was a wishful calculation and not a scientific study of the productive capacity of the food growing areas to feed the increase in population. Indian agriculture is heavily handicapped by archaic methods of farming. Uneconomic holdings that far exceed larger farms capable

"Our Gratefulness to you, Mr. President..."



An agreement providing for the purchase by India of 16 million tons of U.S. wheat and one million tons of U.S. rice was signed in Washington. President Dwight D. Eisenhower signed for the U.S. and Shri S. K. Patil signed for India. Picture shows the signing ceremony of the agreement between the two leaders. India's Ambassador M. C. Chagla is seated next to the American President.

of giving adequate yields, continue to depress the agricultural industry and unless co-operative effort is pressed into service to save individual effort from decay and wasteful pursuits—the present unprofitable techniques of farming and Indian agriculture cannot rise to level to resort self-sufficiency in food.

Mr. C. D. Deshmukh's opinion that Patil's hold in Bombay depends on the support and goodwill of "money boys", inclines too much to one side to give a complete picture of the personality of a man who in his own words has great "managerial ability". Patil's distrust of socialism attracts the mercantile community but he has qualities that in their conjunction give him political weight and importance. There was a time when the Right Wing of the Congress determined the national policy but clamour for democratic socialism necessitated a prudent enlargement of the intellectual horizon of those who had hoped to build new India with the exploded nations of liberal democracy.

There is nothing final in the world, Lenin once said and we learn from experience as we move onwards in the race of life. Democracy is attempting a transvaluation of values and unless political democracy is reimbursed by the rich contents of social and economic democracy it remains wholly incomplete. "Babeuf", wrote E. H. Carr, "lost his head for saying it first in 1797 but we have reached a stage when, realization of Babeuf's dream has become imperative".

Mr. S. K. Patil's ambition is free from vulgarity, his persistence has no points of contact with obstreperousness and he has a forcefulness that is away from recklessness. His assignment at New Delhi cost him local political influence. Bigger movements in the larger spheres of All India problems weaken opportunity of contacts with the masses who make the centre of political gravity, and very few leaders who started in the Provinces retained their grip on provincial politics on their transplantation to New Delhi.



SOME years ago I was hurrying to All India Radio, Bombay, to be in time for my broadcast. I was then a novice to broadcasts, was all a bundle of nerves and quite aware that however much I tried, the "talk" I was scheduled to do would not satisfy my own standards leave alone those of the listeners. Keyed up and tense as I was, I could not but notice that some important personality was expected as the Station Director too was waiting downstairs. It was none other than Mr. S. K. Patil, the then popular and purposeful President of the Bombay Pradesh Congress Committee, who got down from his car. Besides the Station Director there suddenly came on the scene a whole group of newspapermen and reporters. All this excitement added to the confusion in my mind. Having met Mr. Patil casually only a couple of times before, I hardly thought he would at all recognise me. But I was mistaken. He greeted me with such genuine camaraderie and charm and inquired in so friendly a way about the details of my scheduled broadcast that I immediately felt easy and natural. Believe me my "talk" that day—something about the delinquent child—was delivered fluently and with surprising confidence.

It is confidence and confidence with a capital C that Shri S. K. Patil scatters wherever he goes and whatever he does. In a long career of dedicated

A PERSONALITY SKETCH

SMT. BHADRA DESAI

devotion to the Congress Party and the Country, he has, as is well known, been successful in imparting a feeling of security and realism in whatever task he undertakes.

These vital and supreme characteristics have been to the fore in both organisational and administrative spheres handled by Mr. Patil whether as the President of the Bombay Pradesh Congress Committee, or member of the Congress High Command or as a Union Minister.

To those of us who are privileged to have opportunities to work with him in how so small a measure, the dominating and indelible impress left is that of a unique and many faceted personality always capable of surmounting difficulties, of creating order out of chaos and precision out of blundering babble. How refreshing it is to meet some one in public life with such a clear sense of the practical! Mr. Patil has in ample measure the gift of rational decisions and a remarkable capacity for clear thought. Then of course he has in an exceptional degree the inclination to unequivocal speech. I believe these are the qualities which have made the Union Minister so pre-eminent, unrivalled, and unquestioned a leader. Besides, Mr. Patil does have the rare ability of associating himself with almost all shades of public opinion.

Few Cultural Societies, Educational and Sports bodies or Social Organisations in Bombay are nurtured without his guidance. He is, I understand connected with over a 100 institutions. By readily-offered encouragement Mr. Patil has provided the impetus to a number of different activities. Not concerned with abstract truths or eternal values, Mr. Patil influences all within his orbit with his broad and tolerant views. Even so, much as he is in demand everywhere, both in his hometown Bombay and his adopted city Delhi, discipline and decorum are automatically observed when he is at a public gathering. To the great relief of the organisers and the audience he is always punctual in arrival, to the point in his speeches and perpetually conscious of the invaluable value of time.

Extremely versatile, and gifted with a quick silver first rate mind, it is no wonder that he is a patron of the arts especially music. The popular movie and a quick game of bridge are his other interests. Besides, Mr. Patil himself a publicist of no mean order has admiration both for the spoken

and written word. He took to journalism during his student days in London and still cherishes the habit of reading and picking up a few grains of wisdom from everywhere.

Plethora and pomp are supposed to belong to bygone potentates and public figures are said to be the peoples' servants in our country. Yet few of them are approachable easily. However, it is a well known fact that anybody whether Prince, pauper or peon can meet Mr. S. K. Patil personally and more often than not come away with the feeling of having found a true friend. Mr. Patil's guiding rule is familiar to many of his friends who are legion. "Make friends and more friends; keep on making as many as you can; but if you cannot make many, stick to the few you have; do not make enemies" says S. K. Patil.

Delhi also has learnt to appreciate his perspective of politics and people. He has, a Scholar's aptitude and technique for co-opting new faculties. He is not only fluent in English, Marathi and Hindi, but is conversant with French and Russian too. Innumerable visitors both from all corners of India and abroad are always to be found at his Delhi residence. He has built up a tradition of a jolly and generous hospitality that enmeshes all his guests without differences of rank and riches. His sense of the humorous and the ready repartee, full of the comic spirit, restore a harmony and balance in any atmosphere however overladen with seriousness, gloom or puritanical self-righteousness. Though much sought after, he remains unbelievably enough unprone to flattery. Whilst out of the Government during the Kamaraj plan some visitors went on piling praise on praise proving Mr. Patil's indispensability to the country. Not to be content, other guests followed suit but the only reply Mr. Patil made was to laughingly stroke his loved pet dog Johnny and disperse the company since he said both he and his dog were feeling the heat of Delhi and had to retire to his cool airconditioned retreat.

Sometimes one does wonder whether Mr. Patil is ever serious about being serious. Some friends say he reminds them of an admirable amateur actor, versatile, rhetoric and sincere as a sound actor is sincere. When he describes something funny he is in his element enjoying himself thoroughly. In his enjoyment there is the joy of the

gigantic. He laughs at his own jokes and jokes inspire him to wilder and wilder creations. Once at the end of a discussion on the day's parliamentary debate, whilst on his way to the air-port, having shed much light on the foolishness of mortals he glimpsed an ass meandering along. Forthwith he came out with a discourse on the harmlessness of the creature and promptly opined that the ass at least has more utility value than many human beings-and the poor animal deserved to be looked after better in a society wedded to democratic socialism!

Mr. Patil is more often than not labelled as a "rightist" and an opponent of democratic socialism. What he in fact believes is that there can be no wealth without work and no real democracy without the ballot box. Let me reproduce his own definition on democratic socialism from a press interview I had with him some time ago. "Socialism has become such a loose expression in the world today that every country and every man gives his own meaning to it. For example, West Germany is a federal republic. It believes in Socialism in that it prevents concentration of wealth in a few hands. But East Germany also calls itself a democratic socialist country. It is highly confusing for an outsider to distinguish between the two. There are people in this country who want Marxian Socialism with all its consequences including class consciousness and the inevitability of war. If this is a U.S.S.R. pattern, China would have a still more regimented socialism where practically no freedom would be left to anybody except to those who undertake to manage the State.

In a confusion of this kind, it is as well that the goal of the Indian Democratic Socialism which the Congress wants to pursue is properly defined. We want to have a Socialist State where means of production and distribution are either owned or controlled by the State. But before we distribute wealth, we have got to possess it. Wealth is not created by shouting Socialism. It comes by hard work. We do not believe that there must necessarily be a class consciousness ultimately leading to class conflict. All these ideas are outmoded.

When Marx gave his clarion call in the Communist Manifesto in 1848, the situation was entirely different. To-day we have democracy everywhere. Every man has a vote. Collective bargaining is a part of industrial life. Had such a situation exist-

ed in the days of Karl Marx, he would not have recommended the inevitability of class war. We want Socialism but that socialism must be based on parliamentary democracy. It is the ballot-box and not the bullet which must decide what is good for us."

Maybe in our country there is tendency to over-estimate the importance of politicians. When commenting on politicians many imponderable elements and extraneous circumstances have to be taken into account, strongly prejudiced as they sometimes are by political partiality of powerful party pulls. There have been many great men who have been largely made by circumstances. But Mr. Patil has moulded circumstances and created his own opportunities. Unfailing courage and an admirable independence of mind have been his constant companions in the course of his political pursuits. Yet he has plenty of resilience, the hallmark of responsible and responsive leaders the world over.

The powers of striking speech and extraordinary oratory that Mr. Patil is endowed with, are, at all times, a dependable armour in his parliamentary career. The influence of the spoken word is always profound. Mr. Patil, whether in Parliament or on any other public platform has such an aptitude and ease for a spontaneous flow of eloquence that he could hardly be studying style and composition or memorising epigrams. Mr. Patil excels in the cut and thrust of combat. With his inimitable gestures, and the range of his resounding voice he is able with ease to command the breathless attention of even a jaded audience and subdue a crowd into rapt attention. By this effective weapon Mr. Patil invariably elevates a debate, enhances the calling of a politician and raises the level of controversy in the Lok Sabha.

Mr. Patil is in every sense of the term a contemporary man,, immersed in our times, responsive to its moods and challenges, and a participant in both the big and small events of our era. He is full of volatile exuberance and vitality. He cannot be intimidated and does not falter in the face of opposition. With the country facing one grave crisis after another many a patriot would like to see the dynamic resourcefulness of Bombay's ever-popular S. K. Patil canalised into even more responsible and constructive spheres of national activity.

A FRIEND, PHILOSOPHER & GUIDE

SHRI GANPATISHANKAR N. DESAI

If I were to describe Shri S. K. Patil, with minimum words bearing the maximum meaning, I would call him: a friend, philosopher and guide. I do not know what number of people not only in Bombay, but in India, owe their means of livelihood to Shri Patil.

Born in Ratnagiri District, coming down to Bombay, going abroad for his study in journalism, working as an advertising guide to many and then becoming a Press Correspondent, here is a man, Appa Saheb, as he is popularly known and endearingly called, becomes an All India personality in a short span of time because of his sharp intelligence, diligence and amiable temperament.

Bombay is his home but he never feels like a stranger in any other place in India. I have yet to come across a man so able in organisational work. He is most methodical and accurate in details and is always upto the standards that things require to be. In the Civil Disobedience period, jail-going to many was a hardship, but Shri Patil always welcomed it and utilised his time in reading and writing. For him the iron bars were in no way a prison. He has been a voracious reader and many a time burns midnight oil if he gets interested in a book.

He joined the BPCC, after the Bardoli event, some time in 1928 or so and has since then associated himself with Bombay Politics very actively. His participation in the 1930 movement and consequent terms of imprisonment is a tale too well known. His contribution to the efficient working of the Congress organisation is most valuable.

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, the mighty freedom fighter liked Shri Patil most for his organisational

capacity and there was hardly any public question in which Shri Patil did not have a word first with the Sardar and then solve it in an inimitable fashion.

As a Municipal Councillor, as a member of important committees and as a Mayor of Bombay, he has left an indelible impression. As a Member of the Parliament and then as a Minister holding various portfolios with wonderful self-confidence and in a spirit of challenge, he has done such good and meritorious work, that Patil has become a name to be loved and respected and looked upon with hope in times of need.

As a friend he is marvellous. He follows the dictum of Socrates: "Be slow to fall into friendship; but when thou art in, continue firm and constant." Shri Patil would go any length to help a needy and deserving friend. Perhaps that is why he has always earned the best dividends from them in return.

His courage is indomitable. In politics people may have opponents and he has many, but I can say without fear of being challenged that he is not an enemy to any one, nor has he an enemy in any one.

My association with Shri Patil, for more than four decades now, has always been a matter of pride and although I am not actively concerned with party politics, I am still his associate in many important matters of public welfare.

To this giant worker who is a close friend, a practical philosopher and a dependable guide, I wish a healthy and happy long life on this occasion of his 65th birthday.

SUCCESS

He has achieved success who has lived well, laughed often and loved much; who has gained the respect of intelligent men and the love of little children; who has filled his niche and accomplished his task; who has left the world better than he found it, whether by an improved poppy, a perfect poem or a rescued soul; who has never lacked appreciation of earth's beauty or failed to express it; who has looked for the best in others and given the best he had; whose life is an inspiration; whose memory is a benediction.

—MRS. A. J. STANLEY

A Penetrating Portrait

Mr. WELLES HANGEN who had spent three years in New Delhi as Correspondent for National Broadcasting Company, is the Author of the widely talked about book "AFTER NEHRU WHO?" in which he has presented penetrating portraits of eight outstanding Indian Leaders. In this gallery of potential successors of Nehru, among others is included Shri S. K. Patil, the then Minister of Food and Agriculture (1962). We gratefully reproduce hereunder from the said book some interesting portion about Shri Patil's personality and work in the Cabinet and outside, with Mr. Hangen's kind permission. Mr. Hangen also conveys his "very best wishes" to Mr. Patil "on his birthday."

No one mirrors the ebullient character of Bombay more faithfully than its political overlord for well-nigh thirty years, Sadashiv Kanoji Patil. Since April 1957, he has been a member of the Union Cabinet in New Delhi, but his heart and the roots of his political power are still in Bombay. If this man of immense energy, infinite patience, and vast organizing ability ever reaches the top, Bombay out New Delhi, will be the real capital of India.

I first met S. K. Patil (as everyone knows him in India) in the fall of 1959, soon after he had become Union Minister of Food and Agriculture in Nehru's cabinet. Since then I have talked with him more often than with any other major figure. I always see him at his big ministerial "bungalow" at 5, Dr. Rajendra Prasad Road, in one of the shadiest and most tranquil sections of New Delhi. The procedure is always the same. I am ushered in punctually (a rarity in Indian ministers' offices) to find Patil sitting behind a plastic-topped, boomerang-shaped desk in his small study, where several air-conditioners keep the temperature near freezing. Patil wears a white buttoned-up achkan coat like Nehru's, but without the red rose in the button-hole. His face is heavy and blunt, but the black eyes are lively, even mischievous. His voice is deep and resonant, a pleasant relief from the piping sing-song of so many Indians. His directness and lack of verbal circumlocutions remind me of a busy American politician. He is blunt without ever being discourteous.

"What can I do for you?" he intones as soon as I sit down. I ask my questions, and Patil is off,

not garrulously, but with some forthrightly expressed ideas. As he talks, secretaries scurry in and out of the little office with penciled notes. Sometimes he will take a long-distance call from Bombay, but most of the time he gives undivided attention to a visitor. He is an organizer who knows how to use time economically. When a half hour has passed, he booms, "Well, thank you very much", and rises to indicate the end of the interview.

Despite his nonchalance, Patil is much less at home behind a ministerial desk in Delhi than in the rough-and-tumble of Bombay city politics. The "uncrowned king of Bombay," as one former Congress party president calls him, has little use for the bulging files so dear to Morarji Desai's heart. Patil is a boisterous, exuberant extrovert in a country where the mighty are expected to cultivate a certain remoteness. As one Indian newspaperman remarked, "Patil is much more liked because he is human. Unlike some of his Congress colleagues, he trails no sanctimonious coat behind him. Not for him the incense and myth of virtuous perfection". Patil has no taste for theory and no qualms about upholding authority by forceful methods. He prides himself on being tough and direct, although he can also be cunning when the occasion demands.

The Prime Minister and his Food Minister are the senior Congressmen in the central government to-day in terms of length of service with the party.

When Patil came to Delhi, he found himself saddled with some of the toughest and least gla-

The Ardent Pilgrim

What do we find remarkable in Shri Patil and what distinguishes him from countless others? I think it is his ability to see clearly both his goal and the way of reaching it, his fixity of purpose and determination in pursuing that path, undeterred and undistracted by irrelevant side issues. Shri Patil is regarded as a consummate organiser, whether it is a short term election campaign or a long term political platform. This only means that Shri Patil knows his objective; he is able to choose the correct methods of achieving it, marshals his forces and follows his course with calm assurance and a clear vision. He is the ardent pilgrim, success is his shrine and one beckons to the other all the time.

—SHRI Y. A. FAZALHOY

morous technical jobs in the cabinet. First he had the Irrigation and Power Ministry for a year, then the Transport and Communications Ministry for sixteen months. In August 1959 Ajit Prasad Jain resigned as Union minister of food and agriculture. He had failed miserably to solve the problem of India's chronic food deficits. The country's agricultural imports were larger than ever. Food prices were spiralling upward. Jain was not the first food minister to choke on his portfolio. The job had long been considered a graveyard of ministerial reputations. Patil was sworn in as food minister in September 1959. He quickly set about dismantling the cumbersome system of government controls aimed at regulating distribution of food grains. He abandoned whole-sale trading by the government in such staples as wheat and rice. He removed zonal restrictions on the movement of wheat within India. He opposed Nehru's industry-centered approach to economic planning, and extracted more money for agriculture in the third five-year plan, which began in 1961. He exhorted, wheedled, and cajoled Parliament and the state governments into underwriting his policy of internal free trade in foodstuffs. Above all, he sought to harness the farmer's profit motive for the country's benefit instead of trying to stifle it under government controls.

"What I am saying," he told the Lok Sabha, "is that this mute man, this helpless man, the farmer must be given the honor and dignity to which he is entitled. Seventy per cent of this country is made of farmers and by denying him the rights of his produce or by denying him even the place or position to which he is entitled, we shall never succeed, neither in agricultural production nor in any branch of development that we are going to take up".

To drive home the lesson, Patil ordered every official in his ministry to spend at least fifteen days a year on a farm "whether they know farming or not". Of himself he said, "Unless I soil my hand with mother earth and smell it also, I am not a food and agriculture minister".

Patil's most spectacular coup came on May 4, 1960, when he strode into the White House to conclude the largest agreement for American aid since the Marshall Plan. For the next four years India could receive an average of one shipload a day of American grain to relieve hunger and build up vital food stockpiles against famine. The agreement signed by Patil and President Eisenhower provided for sixteen million tons of American surplus wheat and one million tons of rice worth £1.3 billion—to be sold to India for rupees under Public Law 480. Eighty-five per cent of the proceeds are returned as grants and loans to promote India's economic development. The Times of India, which rarely finds virtue in American policy, exclaimed, "No government has ever been more generous". The deal Patil had negotiated gave India desperately needed time to step up its own grain output and to build more grain-storage capacity. It also gave Patil his biggest political boost since he had gone to Delhi. But the Communists objected that Patil was tying India to America's coattails. Other critics said that the massive infusion of gift food would kill the very incentive to produce that the Food Minister was trying to create.

With the oratorical instincts acquired during long years of ward politicking, the square-shouldered, chocolate-faced man from Maharashtra rose in Parliament to rebut the charges. "I am not very fond of depending on other countries. I have as much self-respect as any other honorable members in this house. This country of ours being predominantly agricultural, it is folly—it is a hundred

What smiles!
The effluence
of
fine intellect
and
of
true courage.
Prime Minister
Shri Nehru
and
Shri S. K. Patil



times folly, to go to other countries for food. But what can I do? What we are doing is merely to tide over the difficulties. I have said repeatedly if this house co-operates with me, if the country co-operates with me, I have said that at the end of the third five-year plan (1966) there will be no necessity to bring anything, not even one maund of wheat or rice from any other country."

Such was the challenge and the pledge that Patil offered India in the spring of 1960. He showed that he had a knack for the daring and the dramatic. His optimism might over-reach his discretion, but his spirited performance in the food crisis contrasted sharply with the general lassitude and indecision in New Delhi. With mountains of American wheat and rice ready to funnel into Indian ports, Patil could undercut the speculators who drove up grain prices. "If somebody wants to play a trick by raising prices or anything like that," he growled, "I can blow all that grain like hot air into that particular state when I know that it is necessary in order to hold the prices". Grain prices stabilized and in some places actually declined.

Patil turned next to mobilizing the forces of the market place. "Controls have got to go," he said in accents that would be familiar on Washington's Capitol Hill, but that sounded strange in the Parliament of socialist India. "Controls are bad," he

told Parliament. "You know what these controls are. They make our lives artificial. When there is control, it is followed by ration cards". His attack on marketing controls was coupled with a new program for supporting farm prices. "When the prices are falling beyond the level where it is advantageous for the farmer and they are not remunerative," he declared, "then it becomes the duty of the state to run to the rescue of the farmers and buy the produce at a minimum price." By the spring of 1962, he had set a support price for wheat of thirteen rupees a maund. He called it "the greatest thing that has happened in this country in recent years". In the fall of 1962, he was laying plans to set similar floor prices for rice and other farm products. At the same time the weather gods finally relented. India harvested an all-time record of eighty-two million tons of food grains despite destructive monsoon floods in the summer of 1961 and 1962. The main result of the grain deal with the United States had been its psychological effect in curbing speculation on Indian markets, although shipments were stepped up after the Chinese attack in 1962. By the end of 1962, between 5.6 and 5.7 million tons of P.L. 480 wheat and about 450,000 tons of American rice had actually been imported under the Patil-Eisenhower agreement. One reason for the slow rate of imports was lack

of storage capacity. But the situation on the food front had improved so markedly that the conservative Statesman of Calcutta sighed, "At last organization of the food supply is beginning to be effective".

The pursuit of success has been the leitmotiv of Sadashiv Kanoji Patil's life almost since it began on August 14, 1900, in the tumble-down provincial town of Savantadi, not far from India's west coast and on the edge of former Portuguese Goa. He was the eldest son in a family of three boys and three girls. His father was a minor police officer, on special duty in the area. The family owned some land. Young Patil was only ten years old when both his parents died. His admirers now tell how he "tasted hunger" in his youth, but when I asked him about this, he replied brusquely, 'I wasn't actually hungry, but I didn't have very good meals either'. He looked after his three sisters and two younger brothers, but he managed to attend high school in the west coast town of Malvan and get a scholarship to St. Xavier's College in what he calls "that grandest city, Bombay". He distinguished himself in the college's debating society and made a good record in studies, but he was never graduated from St. Xavier's. In 1920 he joined Gandhi's non-co-operation movement and led a student boycott of the school. In talking to me about his early life, he has always refrained from trying to paint himself as a youthful hero. He told me candidly, "I had nothing to lose by following Gandhiji". Patil's debating experience stood him in good stead as he harangued his school-mates on the glories of swaraj, or independence.

For four years after leading the student boycott at St. Xavier's, Patil conducted schools of national education, the Congress-sponsored nationalist institutions designed to replace what Gandhi called "satanic" British-run schools. The national-education movement collapsed in 1924 with the end of that phase of Gandhian non-co-operation.

Patil had already been admitted to the University of Missouri, where he intended to study for a Master of Arts degree in journalism, but he had to wait six months for his visa to America. He says that he was the first student to go from India under the 1924 immigration act. During the three-week voyage from Bombay to England, he was perpetually seasick, and by the time he reached Eng-

The Poetry of Prose

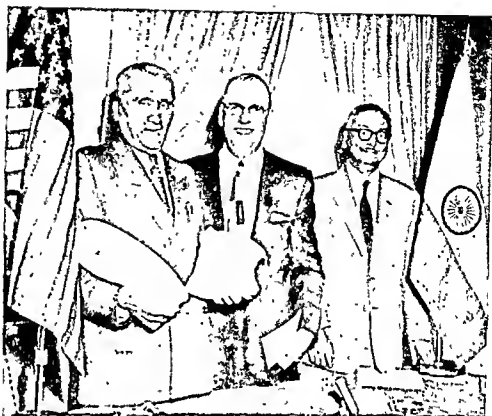
Shri Patil's versatility is truly amazing. As a speaker in English, Marathi and Hindi, as a parliamentarian, as a debator, as a writer and as an organiser, he has outstanding achievements to his credit. Like the late lamented Satyasmurti, a beautiful sense of proportion in his forte. He knows what to say, when to say and how to say it. Never long-winded and boring, never inappropriate, always seasoning his speeches with apt illustrations, nice quotations from Sanskrit and interesting anecdotes—Shri Patil's speeches are always a treat to hear.

—PROF T. V. RAMANUJAM

land his whole body craved an interlude on dry land. He spent a fortnight there, "to get on my legs," and by that time the semester had already begun at Missouri. "I couldn't afford to waste another six months waiting for the new semester to start," he says. "So I went to school in London". There he was one of thousands of Indian students who studied under the late Harold Laski at the London School of Economics. He also attended the London School of journalism. Laski had less impact on the bushy-browed young man from Savantadi than the writings of Bertrand Russell and H. G. Wells did.

When Patil returned to India in 1927, the nationalist movement was at low ebb. He had decided to take up journalism, and became what was then called a political commissioner (equivalent to a political reporter) on the now defunct Bombay Chronicle. He held the job five years, gaining a valuable ward's-eye view of Bombay politics. In 1929 he was elected general secretary of the Bombay city committee of the Congress party. The following year Gandhi launched his great civil disobedience movement, and Patil was jailed for the first time for his part in the disturbances that shook Bombay. In 1931 he resigned from the Bombay Chronicle to devote full time to the Congress, and to jail-going. But he still regards journalism as his "only heaven," and his

Shri Patil receives two bags of special millo seed developed in Scott County, Kansas from Mr. Henry D. Parkinson, Vice-Chairman of the Kansas Wheat Commission. On the right is Mr. B. B. Ghosh, Food Secretary of the Government of India.



passport still describes his profession as "journalist". Often, he says with a far away look in his eyes, "I should go back to journalism".

From 1930 to 1945, Patil went to prison eight times, for a total of more than ten years. His record in this department is as good as Nehru's. What Laski and the London School of Economics failed to give him in the way of political education, Patil imbibed in jail. He read a great deal and lectured fellow inmates, as he says now, on "socialism, communism, and other theories". I suspect there was a heavy admixture of practical politics with the theory. Political prisoners made up some 90 per cent of the jail population in those days. At least a quarter of a million Indians learned political theory (usually Leftist) at government expense during this period when the British allowed Congress leaders to turn the jails into universities. Patil says that most of his following in the country today, "which is pretty deep-rooted," is made up of former inmate-students and those whom they have influenced.

During an interlude of freedom in 1937, he was elected to the All-India Congress Committee, a body on which he still serves. He was already a power in the Bombay Congress party when he was

elected to the AIACC. He supported Gandhi's Quit India movement from the beginning, without the soul-searching that Nehru and Chavan went through. He insists that he also backed the Mahatma in opposing violence of any sort in connection with the wartime movement. "I was the most vocal critic of the underground movement," he recalls, "because it went against the moral philosophy of Gandhi's civil-disobedience movement". During this period Sardar Patel was consolidating his grip on the Congress party in Bombay and nearby Gujarat. The Sardar was a genius at political organization, imperious, ruthless, and indefatigable. He needed a chief of staff in Bombay. Patil was his man. "What little I know of organization and administration, I have learned from this great man", he once wrote, with genuine reverence for his former master. He imitates the Sardar's frowning exterior and his air of total self-possession. When the grand old man of the Congress Right died on December 15, 1950, leaving Congress and the country to Nehru, Patil called it "the darkest day for India".

Patil frankly seeks power and makes no secret of enjoying the good things of life. I remember asking him if he thought that he hurt his chances by failing to conform to the Indian image of leader-

ship. His answer was revealing. "Isn't the Indian image of leadership changing? It's true I'm not an ascetic. You can't reflect something you aren't. I want to serve the people, not just reflect asceticism. The people are very happy if their lot improves. That's the important thing to them. But if you mean by ascetic that a man must be religious and God-fearing, then I'm second to none in those things. But as for frugal living, avoiding motion pictures, wearing khaddi—that kind of thing—I don't practise and I don't ask any man to do that. Desai even turns off the ceiling fan when he goes to sleep. I can't live without air-conditioning. He wears the dhoti. I don't because I don't believe a dhoti is necessary in the modern world where in an hour's time I may be asked to go to London".

Patil admits that he is "not exactly religious", but says that he has a "religious temperament and background".

He has brought political oratory to a high degree of perfection. His gestures are eloquent. He exudes euphoria. Reporting one of his speeches on sugar in Parliament, the Hindustan Times observed that he "allayed all fears, raised all hopes, forgave the ignorant, complimented the knowledgeable, soothed the mills, consumers and cane-growers, and by the time he had finished he had managed to convince the House that there was not only no 'sugar problem' but that, if anything, India was on the top of the world as regards this commodity".

Patil's humor is as pervasive as his euphoria. In telling Parliament about a rat invasion that damaged flowering bamboo trees in the eastern province of Assam, he intoned: "This is a wonderful phenomenon. This is a wonderful rat.... This rat has its visitation once in thirty years. When this particular bamboo flowers, it has got such an influence on these rats. The flower must be very tasty. But when the flower is destroyed, the rat also is destroyed. Where it goes nobody knows. It has no habit of travelling. Otherwise, I think, the Tourist Department would welcome it".

Patil knows he is still the most effective campaign manager in Congress and the potential architect of victory for the party's Right Wing. By the yardstick of Indian politics, he is comparatively young. His energy is inexhaustible. His political wisdom is unmatched.

Elections: A Saga of Achievement

Shri S. K. Patil is an organizer par excellence. He has an orderly and disciplined mind and inexhaustible energy that enables him to plan a campaign and execute it with consummate skill. Because of this outstanding quality, he had been called upon time and again to shoulder tasks of immense national importance. We find him in the thick of the first elections after the integration of Andhra. That election was a decisive turning point in the history of our country. Had the Congress lost that election the very heart of our country would have fallen in the hands of a party which had no allegiance to democracy or any sense of patriotism. It would have acted as an ulcer in the body politics and would have grown day by day, finally undermining our hard-won freedom. But Shri Patil took the challenge on behalf of the Congress. It was a mighty challenge. The Communists had with them the experience of a century, and strategy and tactics tested and tempered in various countries at various historical stages. And they had the determination and the force to put all these to use against Congress. How Shri S. K. Patil rallied the people of Andhra against this formidable opponents and how he vanquished them is a saga of achievement. The future historian of post-independent India will indeed sum up with pride this decisive moment in the annals of our country.

And then in Kerala. The Communists in Kerala, thrown out of power, were desperately determined to foist their regime once again upon the people. It was the second most critical moment in our history. There again we find Shri Patil travelling from Mangalore to Trivandrum, addressing hundreds of gatherings, putting heart into the weary workers, inspiring them, steeling their determination. Those who accompanied him in that whirlwind tour campaign bear testimony to his unique capacity for organization and boundless energy.

ELEGANT AS SIMPLICITY AND WARM
AS ECSTASY...



A venerable aspect !

Age sits with decent grace upon his visage,
And worthily become his silver locks;
He wears the marks of many years well spent,
Of virtue, truth well tried, and wise experience.

Over the Years—Pictorially

*With Mahatma Gandhi & Sardar Patel who were honoured
in their generations and were the glory of the times.*

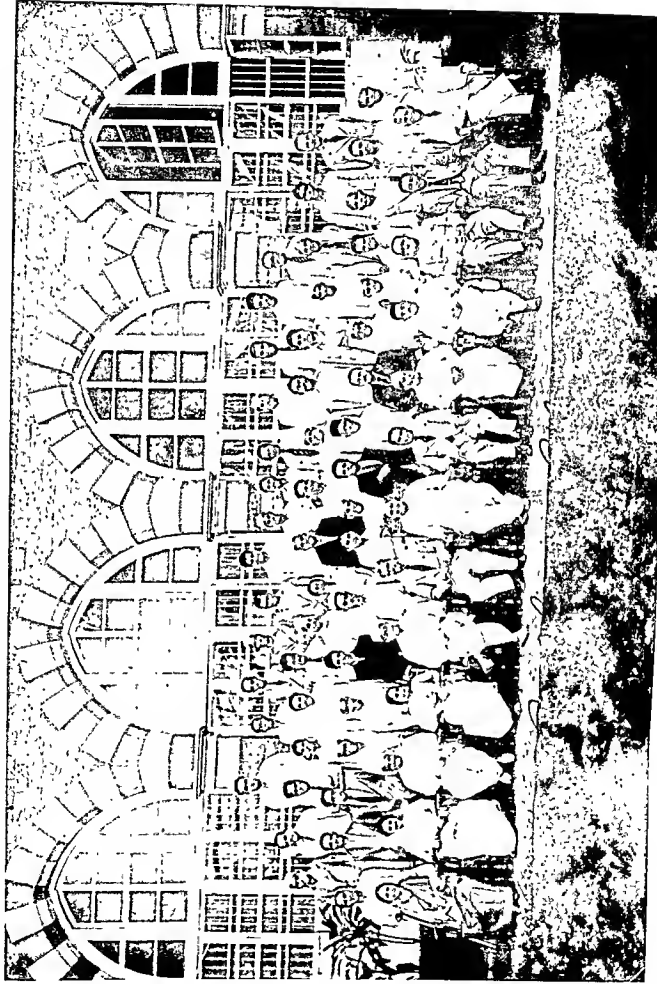


'No matter how insignificant the thing you have to do, do it as well as you can. give it as much of your care and attention as you would give to the thing you regard as most important. For it will be by those small things that you shall be judged'

-Mahatma Gandhi

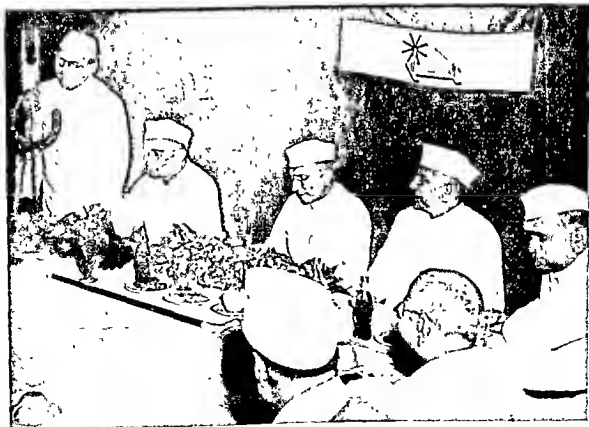
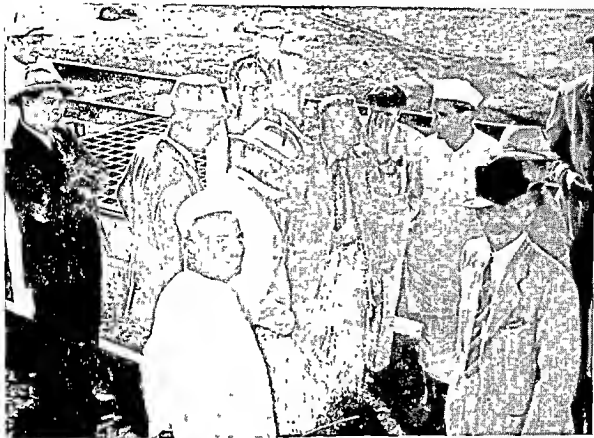


They guided the life & destinies of the Cosmopolitan City of Bombay (1951-52)



Shri S. K. PATIL, Mayor, in the centre.

A Visit to the Vaitarana Dam—January 1952



Reception in honour of Shri B. G. Kher, the retiring C.M. and the new C.M. Shri Morarji Desai
at People's Hall—April 1952.

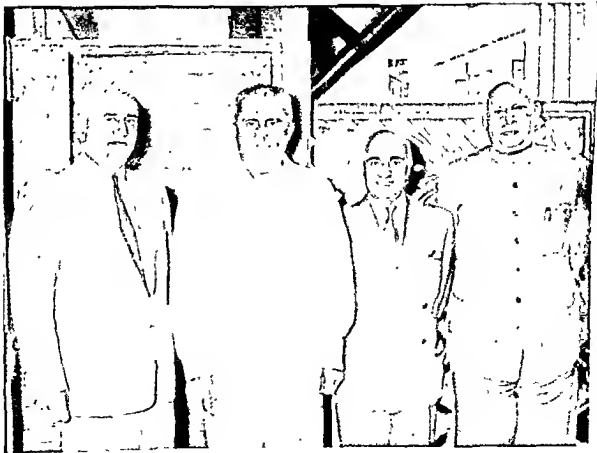
Inauguration of the Transit Camp

Welcome speech on the occasion of the opening ceremony of the Transit Camp at Congress House, Bombay on 15th August 1953. Seen in the picture are Shri Gajashankar Rajput, Governor of Bombay, and members of the committee



At Gandhi Memorial College, Nairobi

With Shri A. B. Patel (Chairman of the Mombasa Committee of Shri Bhrhad Bharatiya Samaj), Shri S. K. Patel and Dr. R. K. Yajnik



Swearing In Ceremony

AS MINISTER
IN THE CENTRAL
GOVERNMENT
IN 1957



Seen in the
picture are
Dr. Rajendra
Prasad,
Shri Jawaharlal
Nehru and
Shri Govind
Vallabh Pant

In North Viet Nam



Accompanied the
President of
India
as
Minister-in-waiting
during latter's
visit to
North Viet Nam
in February 1959.
Seen also in the
picture is
H.E. Mr. HO
CHI MINH,
President of
North Viet Nam



With the American President Mr. Dwight Eisenhower, during the latter's visit to India in 1959. Seen also in the picture are Dr. Radhakrishnan and Shri M. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar, Speaker of Lok Sabha

The Cordial grapple



With Dr. Konrad Adenauer
Chancellor of the Federal Republic Germany,
31st October, 1959



With Marshal Tito, President of Yugoslavia, 12th November, 1959

At Suratgarh Farm (Rajasthan): 13th February 1960



With Mr. Nikita Khrushchev, Prime Minister of U.S.S.R., during the latter's visit to India. Also seen in the picture are Shri Mohanlal Sukhadia, CMI of Rajasthan and Maj. General Thakar Malandeve Singh, General Manager of the Farm

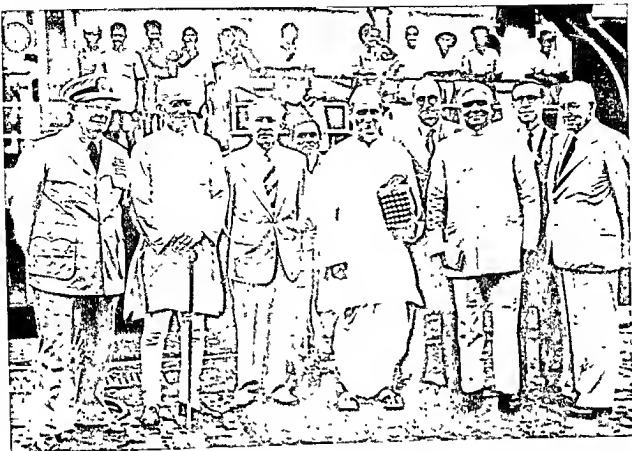
At
 Far East-America
 Council
 Luncheon
 Conference
 in New York.
 A word with its
 President
 Mr. C. B. Marshall
 (April 1960)



With Mr. George
 Alessandri,
 President of
 Chile and
 Mr. J. M. C.
 Ramirez,
 Minister for
 Agriculture
 (May 1960)



First Consignment of Food from America: 1961

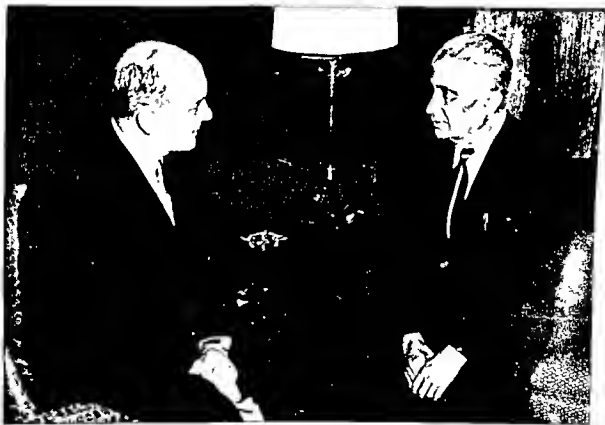


With H. E. Mr. William Siroky, Prime Minister of Czechoslovakia, Socialist Republic (1961)

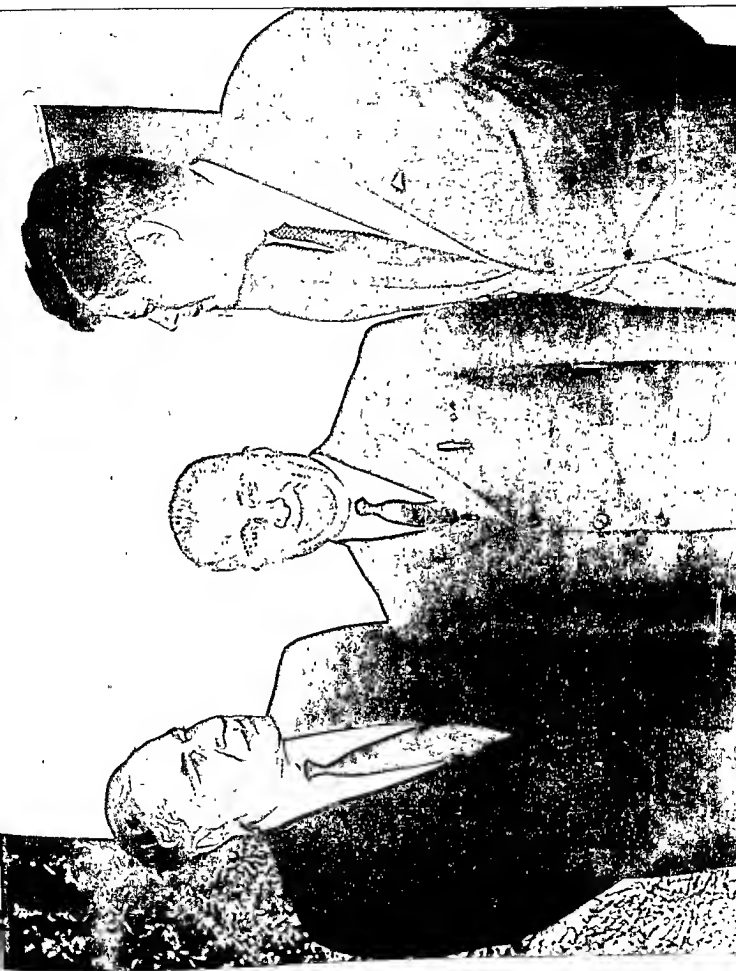
A Visit to Argentina Farm: June 1961



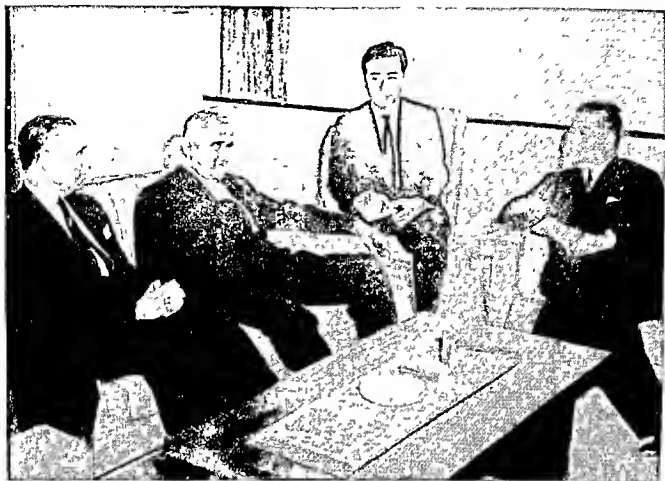
Mr. Duggan, the owner of the Sytton Farm shows his "short-horn" bulls



With Mr. Dean Rusk, Secretary of State, U.S.A. (June 1961)



A Visit To The Land Of The Rising Sun



CONFERENCE WITH JAPANESE FOREIGN MINISTER MASAYOSHI OHIRE



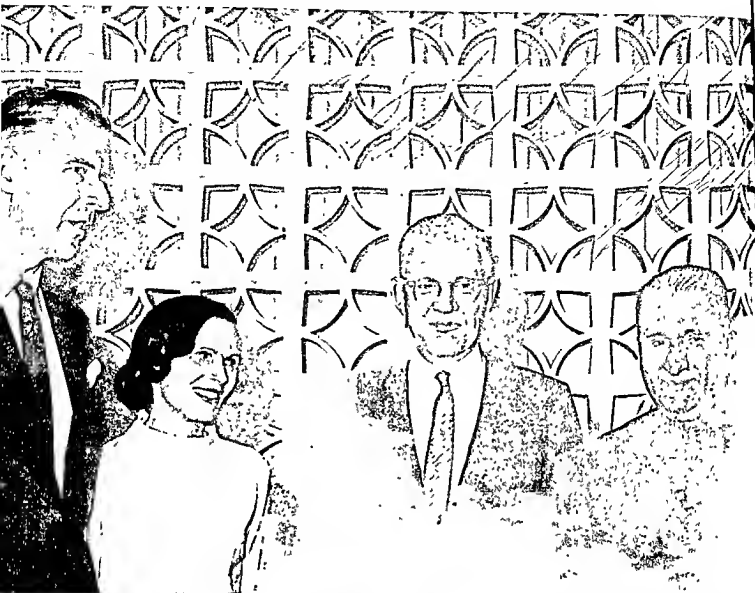
WITH PRIME MINISTER NEHRU & THE AMBASSADOR OF WEST GERMANY

As Minister for
Railways in the
Central
Government
in 1964

Seen in the
picture are
Dr. Radha-
krishnan,
Shri Lal
Bahadur
Shastri and
other Cabinet
Ministers



"I have high confidence in your political skills"—Galbraith



Prof. J. K. Galbraith, Ambassador of USA in India, Mrs. Galbraith, Mr. Phillips Talbot, U.S. Asst. State Secretary (January 1963)

"I have admiration for your many contributions"—Freeman

As Minister for
Food & Agriculture,
with the Hon'ble Orville L.
Freeman, Secretary for
Agriculture, USA, 1963



*When East & West
Do Meet!*



As Minister for Railways, with
President Lyndon Johnson
of U.S.A. (August 1964)



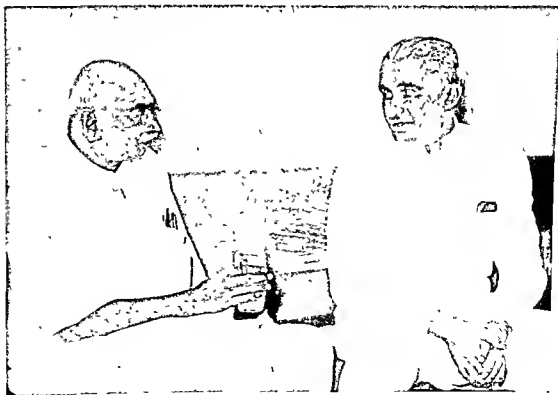
After—Reception Speech; addressing the members of the National Press Club, Washington, on August 5, 1964.

MUTUAL CONFIDENCE

WITH PRIME MINISTER SHRI LAL BAHADUR SHASTRI



The human heart, at whatever age opens only to the heart that opens in return!



WITH CONGRESS PRESIDENT SHRI KAMARAJ

SHRI PATIL'S SPEECHES & WRITINGS

A WORD TO INDIA'S YOUNG MEN & WOMEN

[Summary of the Presidential Address of Shri S. K. Patil, President of the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee at Bengal Students' Conference held at Mymensingh (East Bengal) on 9th March 1947]

I am sincerely grateful to you for giving me this opportunity of meeting Young Bengal and knowing its problems at close quarters. I have always been in my political life, an ardent admirer of Bengal and its people. With seven crores of population and with your long history and rich traditions, you are almost a nation, as big as the biggest in Europe except Russia. The contribution of your Province to India's national struggle has been great and immense. In sacrifice and suffering, you are second to none. In fact, the cool courage and unflinching loyalty which you have evinced in the midst of your trials and misfortunes have been a source of inspiration and strength to the rest of your countrymen. As in the past, so also in the future and particularly in the immediate future, the Province of Bengal, I am certain, is going to play a role worthy of its great name and traditions.

The next few months in this country are going to be the most historic and eventful period of our national history. The political situation in the country is developing so rapidly and dangerously that it has become difficult to predict what is going to happen the next day. This great and vast land of ours is rocking to-day under the influence of powerful forces which are dragging her on to her inevitable destiny. At a delicate and crucial time like this in the progress of our political struggle, India is badly in need of strong, courageous, disciplined and imaginative leadership. We are, as it were, sitting on the mouth of a volcano. Any false step is fraught with disastrous consequences. The qualities of courage and forbearance and above all, of mutual understanding were never so much needed for the building of a nation as they are needed to-day in this country.

The unequivocal and emphatic declaration, made only a few days back by Mr. Clement Attlee, the British Premier, has opened a new and most significant chapter in India's history. In Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's words, this declaration is a challenge to India and the world will watch with expectancy

how India's sons and daughters are going to meet this challenge. That India is going to accept this challenge, let there be no doubt in anybody's mind. The declaration of the British Premier has the following main features: In the words of the declaration itself, (1) His Majesty's Government wish to make it clear that it is their definite intention to take necessary steps to effect the transference of power to responsible Indian hands by a date not later than June 1948; (2) If it should appear that an agreed constitution will not have been worked out by a fully representative Assembly before the time mentioned, i.e. not later than June 1948, His Majesty's Government will have to consider to whom the powers of the Central Government in British India should be handed over, on due date, whether as a whole to some form of Central Government for British India, or in some areas to the existing Provincial Governments, or in such other way as may seem most reasonable and in the best interests of the Indian people; (3) Although final transfer of authority may not take place until June 1948, preparatory measures must be put in hand in advance.

The debate in the House of Commons, heated and acrimonious though it was, has proved beyond doubt that the present Labour Government in Britain and its leaders mean business this time and they do not want their sincerity to be challenged. That young intellect of the Labour Party, Mr. Wyatt, said categorically in his speech in the Commons: "We must say clearly and unequivocally to India that on a certain fixed day, we are going to leave India, with our troops and our officials and with any British residents who wish to come with us, and we must do that before the administrative machinery has completely crumbled in our hands". Well may Mr. Winston Churchill and a few Conservative diehards stigmatise Pandit Nehru's Government as a "total disaster", but one fact which has incontestably emerged out of the debate in the Commons is that the British Gov-

ernment is now finally and irrevocably committed to quit India not later than June 1948,

A great controversy and an small amount of anxiety have centred round that part of the declaration which refers to the authority or authorities in India to which the power will be transferred. No doubt, looking to the past history of our political struggle, we have reason to blame the successive British Governments for having created and fostered divisions in our political ranks. That charge is irrefutable and can be levelled with justification. But how can a nation stop by merely making charges? Whatever might have happened in the past, we cannot shut our eyes to the present and forget our responsibilities for the future. It would have been good and proper if the British Government had successfully undone a part of the mischief they have done in this country. If they were able to bring together the Congress and the Muslim League on a common platform of constructive political activity, they would have earned the eternal gratitude of this country. As it is, after having raised the phantom, they are now not in a position to bring it under control. I can quite realise what it means to the Province of Bengal and to its millions of people if the power is to be transferred to the existing Provincial Governments as they are constituted. That tragedy is to be averted under any circumstances, no matter what sufferings and sacrifices we have to go through. That must not, however, blind us to our obvious duties and responsibilities. Any desperate or one-sided solution of the problem, which is bound to result in violence and inevitable blood-shed, must be avoided as far as it lies within our power. Between now and the date-line of the transfer of power, we must fully exercise all our resources and constructive abilities to bring about a friendly solution of this most difficult problem.

It is one thing to transfer power and quite the other to be able to accept and retain it. A mere technical transfer of power to any authority which the British Government might choose, need not necessarily frighten us or be the last word on the subject. Only an authority based on peoples' will and supported by their sacrifices can receive and sustain the power that will be transferred to it. A government, either Central or Provincial, which is not representative of the largest bulk of the popular will, will prove to be a poor instrument to ac-

cept the power when it is transferred. The real task therefore, from now onwards, is to create adequate and powerful sanctions behind the acceptance of power. Our political horizon to-day is clouded by hatred and strife. Silver lining which they say every cloud has got, has become invisible. Constructive statesmanship is at a discount. The history of this globe in its critical times has shown that when things appear darkest, there is always the surest chance of a bright prospect. Who knows that what appears to-day as irretrievably irreconcilable may not have the best chance of reconciliation in the near future? Let us not lose heart on a great occasion like this. Who knows that the danger that seems to face us all alike, on the eve of our entering into the sun-shine of full freedom, may not have in it the seeds of mutual understanding for the well-being of millions of our masses who have made untold sacrifices for the freedom of their mother-land.

Whatever might be the other results of the British Premier's declaration, one thing is pretty certain that there will be brisker moves on the political chess-board of the country. It is possible, as has been suggested by the Parliamentary Opposition in England, that the minorities in India—and by minorities they always mean the Muslim League—will be encouraged by this statement to persist in their separatist tendencies in the hope of receiving power separately when it is transferred. The recent flare-ups in the Punjab and North West Frontier Province are being cited in support of this line of argument. There is, however, another line of argument which appears to me more natural and reasonable. It may happen that when the British power is finally and irrevocably gone from this country and when it cannot be invoked to settle or unsettle our internal differences, the minorities, and particularly the Muslim League, may see better reason and be persuaded to come to terms with the Congress which will always remain in the field as the largest and the most formidable Party in Indian politics. Carefully analysed, the political situation to-day lends itself to a hope that the chances of Hindu-Muslim Unity are better to-day than they were ever before during the last ten years. When instead of three parties, one of them being a rank outsider, only two parties remain in the field, the chances of settlement are bound to improve. Since 1940 when the cry of Pakistan was first raised in this country, the poli-

tical field has been held almost entirely by the Muslim League. Whatever the Congress may do to quicken the Nation's advance to freedom, it has always to encounter the toughest opposition from the League demonstrably encouraged by the ruling power. The Congress was convinced beyond doubt that unless and until the British power disappeared from this country neither freedom nor Hindu-Muslim Unity was at all possible. It was this conviction more than anything else that led to the "Quit India" Resolution of 1942. A conviction is steadily growing that there is hardly any possibility of political unity between the two great communities so long as there is third party tightly sitting in this country and exploiting these communal differences. The declaration of the British Premier, therefore, is the logical sequence of the 'Quit India' policy. This will explain why the Congress High Command and other Congress Leaders have warmly welcomed the British declaration to quit India not later than June 1948. The leaders of the Muslim League will now be called upon to face facts which are harder than the fiction on which they have relied since 1940. The dispute has at once narrowed down to a domestic quarrel between two brothers. With a little more accommodation on both sides coupled with a spirit of give and take, the actual trouble may not after all prove to be insuperable.

The situation that has now been created calls for imagination and a new approach in our politics. It is no use merely blaming Britain for her sins of commission and omission. Our political methods which are largely negative so far must become

positive in the altered circumstances. We cannot be free merely by hanging all those who did us wrong, even if it were possible to do so. The problems which we have to face to-day are more real and actual than those we were accustomed to so far.

This brings me to the special role which young India, and particularly the student community, has to play in the immediate future. There is enough and more of revolutionary urge and fire in the country to-day. The problem before us is not to create any new urge, but how to control and regulate the great dynamic energy which has been let loose in this country as a result of our struggle for the last quarter of a century. We have an exhaustless reservoir of energy in this land. How to make this energy run in desired channels is the greatest problem of the day. Our workers in the fields and factories need no more to be told that they have to fight for their freedom. They have been ever ready to fight and even suffer for their freedom. What we want to-day in the new circumstances is not the political agitator, but the National Architect. On the eve of freedom, the Nation must not get inebriated and lose its balance. To hold this balance and prepare the vast masses of this country for a peaceful transfer of power is the greatest need of the hour. The country is so much excited that we need no more excitement. The day of slogans and claptrap speeches of agitators is gone. The sooner this is realised the better for all concerned. The qualities of service and suffering stood us in good stead all these 25 years of our 'Direct Action'. Lakhs of our countrymen

BENEVOLENCE

As the rose breatheth sweetness from its own nature, so the heart of a benevolent man produceth good works.

He enjoyeth the ease and tranquillity of his own breast; and rejoiceth in the happiness and prosperity of his neighbour.

He openeth not his ears unto slander; the faults and the failings of men give pain to his heart.

His desire is to do good, and he searcheth out the occasions thereof; in removing the oppression of another he relieveth himself.

From the largeness of his mind, he comprehendeth in his wishes the happiness of all men; and from the generosity of his heart he endeavoureth to promote it.

—BUDDHA

have gone to jails and suffered hardships of prison life with a smile on their faces, all for freedom which they loved so much. Hundreds have mounted the gallows and thousands have received bullets so that their blood may hasten the advent of Swaraj in this land. All these qualities we have acquired and developed to an amazing degree, of which any people can be proud. But we must now recognise that these qualities alone will not be enough to enable us to face the new situation which is very soon coming upon us.

The way of passion, of national aggrandizement, of racial superiority and of violence has brought the world almost to a point of destruction. Surrounded on all sides by passion and violence if India has been able to come very near her freedom, the credit for this wonderful phenomenon goes undisputably to one man who has been the chief architect of India's freedom. But for Mahatma Gandhi, I do not know how many millions of our countrymen would have been sacrificed even for what we have been able to achieve so far. Like a skilful mariner, he has piloted the ship of our freedom safely and peacefully to its anchorage. The great national virtues which he inspired in us have enabled us to keep clear of the dangers that have ruined other nations of the world. Great qualities of faith, obedience, discipline, loyalty and above all the qualities of selfless service and sufferings in which he trained the Nation during last twenty-five years and more, have made our task very easy. The danger, however, is that on the eve of our entry into free India we may forget these great qualities, and if at all, pay lip-homage to them. When we are entering upon our new responsibilities, let it not be said of us that we won the war—the war of our freedom—but we are likely to lose the peace—the lasting peace which can come to us only by methods that our Great Leader has taught us.

What is happening in the world to-day? Violence must create violence. Hatred must engender hatred. This is the immutable law of the universe. The one challenge to this immutable law comes from India and that through the gospel of Truth and Non-violence which Mahatma Gandhi has unfolded before the world and experimented in this country.

I will not allow this opportunity to pass without uttering a serious warning to the student community of India. For God's sake do not allow yourselves to be exploited by interested persons and

Parties for purposes of their own. There is a tendency today noticeable everywhere in this country that even at a small age our young people must start displaying Party Labels on their foreheads. This is a most dangerous tendency and it must retard Nation's progress. The students of India to-day are, indeed, creatures of destiny. Never during the long history of the world, was so much responsibility thrown on the young generation of a country as it is thrown today on the young men and women of India. You have to fashion a young nation of your imagination and aspirations. We have always believed that India has a mission to fulfil in the world. Both the world and its civilization—what little is left of it—have to be saved from the ravages of passion and violence. A free India can accomplish that mission if her young men and women follow the path which their Great Leader has shown them all these years.

A free India will need thousands and lakhs of men and women of ability and character to conduct her administration in an efficient manner. We have to create these administrators in our own country. They cannot be imported like consumers' goods. The administration of free India must be carried on by the sons and daughters of the soil. Who is to train these young men and women for the great responsibility of administration? Even from now, you must look upon yourselves as the future administrators of this land and prepare yourselves for the natural role which you will have to play in a free India. You must develop in yourselves the qualities of faith, loyalty, discipline, integrity, character and last but not the least, tolerance. No nation can ever be great without these qualities. I am certain that in the days to come the students of India, and for that matter, all young men and women, will render an excellent account of themselves and make themselves ready for discharging the great responsibility of administering their free country. Luckily, this nation of ours has been gifted with some of the greatest Leaders of all times. It is these Leaders who have made India what she is in the world to-day. You students must live up to the great reputation of these Leaders and the lead they have given you and the world. I have not the smallest doubt that you will rise to the fullest height of your responsibility and see that our dream of a free and happy India is realised at the earliest moment.

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... "I shall have the fullest freedom for my conduct outside"

'NO CONFIDENCE PROPOSITION' IS LOST!

(The Bombay Municipal Corporation-1949)

Proposed by Mr. S. S. Kavalekar—

"That the Corporation views with serious concern the grave departure from constitutional propriety on the part of His Worship the Mayor in actively participating in the forthcoming Municipal By-Elections by appealing to Voters to vote for Congress candidates, by collecting funds for election expenses of Congress Party candidates, delivering lectures in favour of the Congress candidates, Congress Party being only one of the parties in the Corporation. The Corporation regrets that in doing so, His Worship the Mayor has failed and neglected to maintain the traditions of impartiality, detachment from party election and neutrality which the Office of the Mayor enjoins on the incumbent. This Corporation, therefore, expresses its opinion that it has no confidence in His Worship the Mayor."

Mr. K. K. Shah raised a point of order and inquired whether the *Proposition* was in order. He submitted that the question raised in the *Proposition* was the same as was discussed at the Special Meeting of the Corporation held on the 12th September 1949, and therefore it was not in order to consider the *Proposition* at that stage under Rule 46 of the Corporation Procedure Rules which laid down that a question once disposed of could not be considered again except after the expiry of three months from the date of such disposal.

... After hearing Mr. V. S. Velinkar on the Point of Order, His Worship the Mayor observed that the question to be decided was whether the "question" discussed on Monday last and the "question" before the House were one and the same. His Worship did not agree with Mr. Velinkar that because in one *Proposition* Mr. 'A' was mentioned and in another *Proposition* Mr. 'B' was mentioned, the subjects were different. They had to go by the import of the *Proposition* apart from the language. The language might be different but it would be found that the operative part of both the *Propositions* was the same and as such the *Proposition* moved by Mr. Kavalekar did come within the purview of Rule 46.

The operative part of Mr. Kavalekar's *Proposition* stated that in doing so (i.e. by his alleged participation) the Mayor had "failed and neglected to maintain the traditions of impartiality, detachment from party elections and the neutrality which the Office of the Mayor enjoined on the incumbent". The arguments contained in both the *Propositions* were identical although the language differed. His Worship therefore, observed that the "question" before the House was the same as had been discussed on Monday last and that he had no doubt in his mind that it came within the operation of Rule 46. On the question of law, he had come to the conclusion that he could rule the *Proposition* out of order under Rule 46 of the Corporation Procedure Rules but although he took that view he was not inclined to rule it out of order because he himself happened to be a person concerned in the *Proposition* and also a person, who was called upon to give the ruling. When some Councillors desire to move a *Proposition* directly expressing no confidence in the Mayor, he (His Worship) felt that opportunity should be given to the House to discuss the issue and it should not be said that the Mayor showed weakness or did any injustice in stifling the debate on the *Proposition* by taking shelter behind a rule of Procedure.

Extract from the Proceedings of a Meeting of the Bombay Municipal Corporators held on the 15th September 1949 and presided over by the Mayor, Shri S. K. Patil. (By permission of the BMC).

His Worship continued that he would therefore allow the *Proposition* to be discussed and decided by the House, but it should, however, be strictly understood that his decision should not be quoted as a precedent.

Mr. Kavalekar then resumed his remarks and at the conclusion thereof, the *Proposition* was seconded by Mr. Naushir C. Bharucha.

After the debate had proceeded for more than an hour, Mr. S. V. Sovani moved—

That the question be now put.

The motion was seconded by Mr. K. M. Sharma and was carried.

The mover of the *Proposition* then replied to the debate

His Worship the Mayor made the following observations before putting the *Proposition* to the vote;—

"It was my painful duty to sit patiently in this Chair and hear all that was said on this *Proposition*. It is one of the unwritten conventions of this Corporation that the Mayor has to listen to the debate without taking part in it. I must compliment the members who have spoken on the very high tone and level of the debate on the *Proposition*. I expected the worst. But members have dispassionately discussed this matter without much display of high temper and it is a tribute, indeed, that members take the responsibilities of the House so very seriously. Nobody has really said anything out of ill-will.

"Whatever might be the motive from which this motion has come before the House, I will not go into that question. My plain duty was to consider the matter very dispassionately, because not only the present generation but the posterity will be affected by our judgment. I have been told that I have done some thing which is against the constitutional propriety and traditions of this House and this Chair. But not a single member has attempted to show to me what that constitutional propriety or tradition is. There is no reference to it in the Books of Procedure of the Corporation. I have vainly attempted to search whether there was any constitutional propriety of this type and whether during the last 60 years the Mayor outside the jurisdiction of the four walls of this House was asked to do nothing of this kind. There is nothing on record. In the absence of that, I agree that it is for you and for me to decide what should be the constitutional propriety. If such constitutional propriety did not exist, it is for us to fix and decide the constitutional propriety or practice; I do not

take away the right of the House in that respect. But when I consider to myself whether, in acting in the manner I have done, I have done something which in similar circumstances the Mayors who preceded me would not have done, the answer to that is in the negative. Even now I do not feel convinced that I have done something which is against the constitutional propriety.

"A reference was made to the Mayors outside. I had an occasion to refer to some more books on the subject. I find that the Mayor of a City who may also be a politician is not precluded outside his Chamber to carry on his activities. Take the case of the Mayors of big cities in the U.S.A. There all the Mayors, barring the exception of one or two, are hundred per cent party men, either democrats or republicans. They are chosen on party tickets. They are the executive heads. They can appoint and dismiss even the Commissioner and other servants. The Commissioner of Police is their servant. They can even go to the extent of interfering with the election machinery, which of course they have never done. He does not cease to function as political party man as soon as he becomes the Mayor. Such a practice is unknown to the constitution in other countries. If you want to establish conventions of such constitutional propriety, we can make them. If you want the Mayor to be a full-fledged Mayor, who should devote his time and attention to Municipal duties only, we can amend the Act. We can even extend the term of the Mayor to the life of the Corporation. If you desire to give such a position to the Mayor, I shall support such a proposal. When there is no precedent of what is the constitutional propriety and if you felt that the Mayor has done something which is against constitutional propriety or practice, your duty was, if you were genuine in your intention, not to call a press conference and give publicity to the matter from house tops, but to go to the Mayor and say that in your opinion the Mayor should not have done this. We could sit together and consider whether such a practice should continue or not. I would welcome a procedure of this description. In one breath you say you want to show respect to the Mayor's Chair, in another you go to the Press and tell them that you propose to move a vote of no confidence in the Mayor! As I have told you, I have a greater responsibility towards my own conscience and to the public outside. The favourable verdict of even 99 per cent majority was of no use

if I felt in my conscience that I have done something which was against the best traditions of this Chair. The remedy is not to call a press conference or to bring a vote of no confidence in the Mayor. That is not the method by which constitutional proprieties can be maintained. Mr. Kavalekar gave a brilliant example of a Director of the Dalmias becoming a High Court Judge. It has no analogy with the Mayor's position. If friends are genuine and sincere in expecting that the Mayor should be above party politics, the natural consequence to that position is to lay down that a Councillor as soon as he is elected Mayor must resign from his party. It is then for the Mayor to consider whether to accept such a position or not.

"When I was elected Mayor, I was the President of the B.P.C.C. and a member of the Working Committee of the Congress and it was inherent in that position that my impartiality, neutrality, etc., should be within the four corners of this House. Did I interfere with the election machinery of the Municipality? Did I ask any Municipal servant to vote for my party? Did I go to the Police Commissioner and ask for Police protection? If I had done those things, that would have been an unworthy interference on my part in the due discharge of my Mayoral responsibilities. The letter asking for funds for the election must go under the signature of the President of the B.P.C.C. It would have been rank cowardice on my part to expect the Vice-President of the B.P.C.C. to perform a

duty which I am expected to fulfil. The natural consequence of the position taken by you is that a Councillor as soon as he becomes Mayor must resign all his party affiliations. If that were so, a man like myself would never choose to become the Mayor because for me the Congress was dearer. I would then say that this is not the place for me. But you elected me Mayor knowing that I was an active political Congressman. Of course you had your say also at the time of the election. Knowing that I belong to a political party, you expect me to be on a par with Caesar's wife, although you have yourself no fidelity towards Caesar. If the Socialist Party desires to set a new practice for the Mayor to follow, then they should bring a proposal accordingly before the Law Revenue and General Purposes Committee and decide what should be the functions of the Mayor. After establishing those practices and proprieties for the Mayor to follow, if I depart from them then I can understand that I have done something which is repugnant, to the practices and proprieties so established by the House. But so long as I can continue to be the President of the B.P.C.C. and do not interfere with the administration of the Municipality, I shall have the fullest freedom for my conduct outside."

The Proposition, on then being put to the vote, was lost, there being 23 votes for it and 62 votes against it.

DEFINITIONS DEFIED

The Roman orator, Cicero, said: "He seems to me to be the greatest man, who rises to a high position by his own merit, and not one who climbs up by the injury and disaster of another". The English writer Benjamin Disraeli, observed "man is only truly great when he acts from the passion." The American philosopher, Emerson, opined "he is great who confers the most benefits" and again "I count him a great man who inhabits a higher sphere of thought." The Chinese thinker Mencius, declared "the great man is he who does not lose his child's heart." And Mahatma Gandhi, the Father of our Nation, is reported to have believed that the greatest person was one who was the humblest. These definitions can be multiplied without end. For all these definitions apply to Shri Patil eminently, but only in a way; for Shri Patil satisfies all these definitions and yet goes beyond.

—SHRI ADAM ADIL

EXTRACTS FROM LOK SABHA SPEECHES

SPEECH OF THE MINISTER FOR IRRIGATION & POWER IN THE LOK SABHA, ON FEBRUARY 26, 1958, ON INDO-PAK CANAL WATERS DISPUTE

...The Honorable Lady Member suggested, if Pakistan regarded this canal water dispute as a part of what she styled cold war—it is not a very happy expression; waters are sometimes cold; surely on that account we should not call it cold war—if it is going to be kind of sister dispute to Kashmir dispute, naturally we can do precious little about it because both the disputes possibly can be solved simultaneously. But, if it is an economic dispute, if it is an agricultural dispute, if it is a dispute where the interests of millions of subjects of Pakistan and of India are vitally concerned, then, surely, there should be no trouble whatsoever in arriving at a settlement. I am of the view that if the political aspect does not exist, as it does not exist so far as India is concerned—I have made it abundantly clear on more than one occasion in this House and in the other House that so far as we are concerned, we have no political angle whatsoever in this dispute, we look upon it as an economic dispute—the dispute has got to be solved, as I said, in the larger interests, not only of the people of this country, but of even the people of Pakistan. That is exactly the basis of the Indo-Pakistan Agreement of 1948. Otherwise, all these conditions would not have been agreed to.

APPEAL TO PAKISTAN

Therefore, my appeal to Pakistan is that they should cease to look upon this question as if it is a sister dispute to Kashmir, sit at the table and merely consider the problem from the economic and agricultural standpoint. I am sure within twenty four hours, a solution can be found for all these outstanding differences of opinion. It is exactly for the same reason that the World Bank has entered this field. Otherwise, there was no *locus standi* so far as the World Bank was concerned. They conceived that there was a possibility of this dispute ultimately growing into a political dispute and if it did, surely there would be no end to it. Therefore, they entered on the scene and suggested, why not treat it as an economic dispute and try to resolve it. That is why since 1952, more especially since they made their proposals which are the famous proposals of 1954, the World Bank is actively seeking a solution acceptable to both sides

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SPEECH OF THE MINISTER FOR FOOD & AGRICULTURE IN THE LOK SABHA ON 22ND MARCH, 1960, ON THE BUDGET

...Somebody suggested something about buffer stocks. I think it was my honorable friend Shri Rajendra Singh who said that. I am sorry I was not here when he spoke. If I am making a mistake he would correct me. He said, America has got to give it because it has

got a surplus; somehow or other they have got to sell it, and so on. If not anything else, we should be grateful and thankful to the country which has stood by us in hour of need. I am not saying this in order to pay any special tribute to the United States of America. But surely for the last ten years, when we look to the spirit of fellow-feeling and the help that they have given us, the least that we can give is gratefulness. That feeling of gratefulness must be there in every society, in every nation and in every person. They have merely helped us. We are paying for what we have received. It is a delayed payment, but we are paying for it. This is the system which they have adopted. It is not merely because they must throw it somewhere and they throw it in India

Agriculture in the United States has developed during the last 50 years through means which are something very unique. They spend something like about 6 billion dollars, about Rs. 3,000 crores, merely to give subsidies, what is called the price support to food and other crops. They spend Rs. 3,000 crores annually in order to give price support to that and other things—cash crops and food crops produced in the United States—and as a result of that they have created 9½ billion dollars worth of surplus. All these commodities which are surplus go to about 30 countries—half the world, if I may say so. This is something of an achievement. We should try to imitate some of those good

Eloquence



All opposition it destroys
All power it defies

things. The time may come in this country—and I warn this House, when we are discussing about these surplus and deficit States, the surplus States are driving the deficit States almost to a desperation by their attitude. When every deficit State will try to be self-sufficient in food because it cannot depend upon other States, on their conditions and their mercies; if the deficit States really become self-sufficient—what is going to happen to the agricultural surpluses of the so-called surplus States. Therefore, in a country all people are one. The world is also trying to become self-sufficient. If the world is one, then the people of the world are one. It is unnecessary that every State must be self-sufficient. Even every country need not be self-sufficient in everything. After all, when we are talking of one-world Government and when there are campaigns like 'freedom from hunger' and 'food for peace plan' of President Eisenhower, when all these things are being done, is it the time that we should think of every individual State becoming self-sufficient. If it becomes so and becomes less and less dependent upon the surplus States, it would be a good thing. But the surplus States also must see that today agriculture is not merely food crops but it is also cash crops because peasants, millions of them, get money out of their surpluses which they use for their clothes, for the education of their children, for their better living and other amenities of life. Therefore, we should really behave in a manner that this country is one and hence we must share, as I said on a previous occasion, the fortunes or the misfortunes of the entire country. Do we say that if there is drought or famine in a particular State, the other States will not go to its rescue? For, we expect that in a similar situation, that State also would come to the rescue of the other States. That is the fellow-feeling, and that is the gratitude which is shown. Unless a society is imbued with the feelings of this gratefulness or gratitude, surely that country or that society would not be what it is or what it should be.

II.

CONSTRUCTION OF SILOS

...It is also proposed to construct silos at some of the principal ports such as Bombay, Calcutta and, probably, also at Kandla, Madras, Vizag etc., if the required land becomes available from the port authorities. Land is necessary. It will help us because at the ports the grain comes from outside. Even when the movement of grain is internally in India, it is sometimes by shipping and it should be by shipping because I must give help to the Shipping Minister in giving the cargo which he very badly needs. He need not go in for coal when he gets this precious thing like wheat or rice. Therefore, these silos in ports are very necessary. Therefore, attempts are being made to build these silos in these big ports.

There is another advantage in this. When the grain comes in ships it comes in the hold; it is not bagged. Therefore, from the hold of the ship it can be immediately typhoned into the silo and bagging is not

necessary. Remember that the deterioration of grain starts with bagging; and, therefore, bagging should be really deferred as long as we can, so that the deterioration does not start.

ADDITIONAL STORAGE

Efforts are also being made to acquire additional storage for private parties. This storage capacity is expected to reach the target of 5 million tons by the end of 1962. Of course, something like 5 to 6 lakhs tons will always be in the pipeline. There is not likely to be any difficulty for building up the buffer stock.

PIPELINE

From storage I now come to the pipeline. I am talking of the pipeline which is really the pipeline. It does not include what the farmers conserve as a sort of precaution. That adds to the pipeline. That also will remain. But, surely, it is not an unhealthy sign. That should be encouraged.

PRIVATE ACCOMMODATION

Incidentally, I would say that efforts are being made also to have private accommodation, accommodation from private people. Private people can spend their money and build such accommodation for the storage of grains. I promise them that Government will take them on a 5 year or 10 year or other basis. That is they will also be able to make some money. This is also a request to people to give us accommodation. In this even the private sector or anybody can cooperate because rather than hire something which is already made but not according to the standards that we like, we can store them in those built according to our standards. They will get the interest and we shall take them for 5 or 10 years. This is an open invitation to anybody who wishes to help us in this very big national venture. (Interruption).

Shri Braj Raj Singh: People who can do that are behind you and not in front of you.

Shri S. K. Patil: May be everybody wants to be there; those that condemn more so.

MULTIPLICATION OF RATS

In this House, the other day there was a question about the Mizo district in Assam. I refer to it because it is an important thing. On the 2nd March, 1960, my honorable colleague Shri Thomas made a statement in the Lok Sabha indicating the damage done by the phenomenon of the multiplication of rats in the Mizo district of Assam on the flowering of bamboos, and what measures were taken to relieve the people. You remember this is a wonderful phenomenon. This is a wonderful rat. And the House should know its capacity to destroy crops. This is something which normally we do not know. At least I did not know. I had to be the Food Minister to know the capacity of this rat. This rat has its visitation once in 30 years, I am told. It is not a daily or an annual visitation because once in 30 years when the bamboo flowers, this comes. There

are many bamboos and they flower. But when this particular bamboo flowers, it has got such an influence on these rats. Where they come from, God alone knows; but they come all of a sudden with such disastrous consequences that 90 per cent or even 100 per cent of the crop is totally destroyed. Surely, there must be some scientific method to deal with it. But, unfortunately, we do not know the existence of it.

An Hon. Member: What is the colour of this rat?

Shri S. K. Patil: I think the honorable Member knows something more about these rats. I do not know the colour. I am very anxious to know. The rats, I am told, eat the flower. The flower must be very tasty. But when the flower is destroyed the rat also is destroyed. Where it goes nobody knows. It does not go to the other districts. It has no habit of travelling etc. Otherwise, I think, the tourist department would welcome it. Therefore, this is exactly what is happening and there is deficit in that area. But that district is so inaccessible because there is no means of communication. Therefore, just now six aeroplanes are engaged day in and out in dropping foodgrains they need.

THE ZONAL SYSTEM

I can tell you one thing—you may believe in it or not, but I believe in it—that by these larger zones etc. confidence is created in the country that there is no shortage. The moment you go in for procurement, monopoly procurement and things of that sort, you must come to the legitimate end of it, rationing also has to come, otherwise you cannot complete the procedure. That way the confidence in the minds of the people is shaken. In the way that we are proceeding, confidence comes back. I am sure the position will be in our hands. It is not impossible at all. I see that nature has also been kind to us. If these things continue for another year or two, I have every confidence and hope that the food situation will be completely under our control. There should be no hesitation at all on the part of honorable members. Honorable Members should also keep an open mind. I am not wedded to one thing, one ideology. I do not say that "this must be done." Even if I were a Member belonging to a surplus State I would have said that it is the duty of a surplus State to see that it helps the deficit State

more than it helps itself. I am not saying anything impossible. Therefore, so far as the zonal system is concerned, it will stand as it is today.

Therefore, the zonal arrangement shall stay, and I seek the cooperation of my honorable friend, and others. Possibly the price will rise up to Rs. 2. I do not take it to be a rise. If it goes up beyond that, I am prepared to stand by and give them any amount of wheat or rice that they require in order that they can open grain shops etc. so long as it is necessary. If you ask: "Why should we open ration shops, we are not used to it". This is a sort of two classes existing. Because you happen to be in a surplus State you think it is demoralising for you to go to a ration shop, but you do not mind millions of people in deficit States going to ration shops etc.

Shri Radhelal Vyas: Ration shops get only 30 maunds a day.

Shri S. K. Patil: Let us share the stock. I am suggesting the line which every State Government must take; otherwise, if we have a floor price as the ceiling price, when prices go below the floor price it is our duty to go and rescue the farmer and buy. He must know it well in advance of harvest that he is going to get so much, so that he prepares for that. That is exactly what is sought to be done and will be done.

SUGAR

Now, I turn to sugar. There were many prophets in this country—here and elsewhere—who were telling me six months back that sugar production would never increase. They said this will happen and that will happen and there were threats of strike and so on. But the wise decision that both the Government and this House took was to increase the price of cane from Rs. 1-7-0 to Rs. 1-10-0 and thus give the incentive to the growers. The price linking formula was formulated so that all the profits should not go into the pockets of the millowners. These measures have resulted, if I may say so, in something that is very excellent indeed. I am in a position to announce today that because of the incentives that were given both to the workers and the millowners we have today 30,000 tons of sugar more than last year. This is something that is much more than I expected. It is good. It may be that any honorable

PROFITABLE COMPANY

One comfort is that Great Men, taken up in any way, are profitable company. We cannot look, however imperfectly, upon a great man, without gaining something by him. He is the living light-fountain, which it is good and pleasant to be near. The light which enlightens, which has enlightened the darkness of the world—and this not as a kindled lamp only, but rather as a natural luminary shining by the gift of Heaven; a flowing light-fountain, as I say, of native original insight, of manhood and heroic nobleness—in whose radiance all souls feel that it is well with them. On any terms whatsoever, you will not grudge to wander in such neighbourhood for a while.

—THOMAS CARLYLE

friend would say that it was on account of natural reasons, and that by natural reasons it would have happened. But, if God helps me, should I deny His help? So, I want God's help and everybody's help. God has helped; the men have helped; the workers have helped and even the millowner has helped, and by helping they got the money also.

...Therefore, let not this House tell me that we should go for help from foreign countries, to bring sugar, because sugar does not come under the PL 480 programme or anything of that description. Thank God it does not come like that. So, we have achieved an increase in production in sugar and are self-sufficient. I am glad that the people of this country, howsoever sweet they want to be, are changing their habits. Ten years back, just 10 lakhs tons of sugar were enough for us. Today, we have gone up to 21 lakhs. Of course I have taken into consideration the increase in population. Do you mean to say that I do not know that the population increases? The population does increase and everyone of us has a little part in that increase. But what I am saying is, apart from the population increase, the increase in population accounts for 75,000 tons of sugar every year, in addition, though not the whole quantity that is produced. Our people's desire is not to go in generally for gur or khandsari but crystal sugar, nice chocolates and peppermints and other things. Why is it that the Bengalis is so sweet more than the people in Saurashtra? Should I prevent the Bengalis from eating rasagollas? I like them. Why should they not like it? I also like rasagolla; so also the Saurashtra people. They want sweets in everything now. Even in the 'dal' or the 'tarkari' that they make.... (Interruption)

An Hon. Member: 'Achar' also.

Shri S. K. Patil: Yes, in achar also, they will put a little gur. Can I change their habits? Are they bad habits? How sweet and nice those people are? I want everybody to be so sweet and nice, without adding to the consumption of sugar. In the matter of khandsari, the production was 12 per cent instead of 10 per cent, and further they take the other material, inferior material, like gur and all that. It is happening today. The demand today is not for khandsari or gur. The demand today is for more and more crystal sugar. Therefore, we have to take that into account. I am not producing anything from heaven. Nothing really is produced from heaven except rain and sometimes hailstorms also. What I want is that this diversion to khandsari and gur should stop, so that we can get the requisite quantity of sugar at the prices that we want. So, so far as the production of sugar is concerned, I think we shall be out of the woods.

THE FARMER'S LOT

If you tell the farmer that he must sell his wheat or rice at a particular price, irrespective of the fact that we have not worked out the economics of this produce, what will happen? There should be some consideration, because after all the crux of the agricultural problem is always the farmer. In the last analysis he is the man on

whom everything will depend. Therefore you cannot rob that man and say that he shall not get what is due to him, because the price-line has got to be held. Therefore, the price-line must first protect the farmer. That is one responsibility. At the same time, we must also hold the other thing. That can be done. Efforts could be made by introducing co-operative societies and spending a little more money if necessary.

Shri P. R. Patel said that the nuisance value has got to be increased so that we do something for the workers in the land. Sometimes it appears as though nothing is done until one makes himself a nuisance. For God's sake, do not create that condition. What I am saying is that this mute man, this helpless man, the farmer, must be given the honour and dignity to which he is entitled. Seventy per cent of this country is made of farmers and by denying him the rights of his produce or by denying him even the place of position to which he is entitled we shall not ever succeed not only in the agricultural production but in any branch of development that we are going to take up.

Therefore, my humble request is this, and I want you to believe me when I say that I still want that committee or some kind of a board for the farmers. It may be....

Shri Braj Raj Singh: Has something happened in between?

Shri S. K. Patil: It may be of an advisory type or it may have two parts, I do not know. But there I have got the Planning Commission, I have got the Cabinet, I have got this House, everybody. For my part I want to run faster. But are we prepared to go that fast?

Shri Braj Raj Singh: We are.

Shri S. K. Patil: Then you must make everybody run, and if they do not you must carry them on your shoulders. We must do it jointly in a cooperative way so that there is no mistake and there is no difficulty about it.

FORESTRY

...I now come to forestry. ...I was inaugurating an international conference of the South-East Asian countries in Delhi the other day, and I was amazed to find that the UNO organisation for this forestry think that an allocation of at least 4 billion dollars, which means Rs. 2000 crores, is necessary during the next ten years in order to bring forestry on a scientific and practical footing to which it has to be brought. At a time like that, when we really rejoice over the fact that 23 per cent of the flora is there already, and the others give us compliments for that, it is our duty to see that the forests are maintained, it is our duty to see that the forests are expanded, and it is our duty to see that the forests are scientifically laid so that it is not any tree that grows, but only trees that we need, so that industrial and agricultural wealth of this country could be increased.

Smt. Manjula Devi: (Gopalpara): What about illegal felling of trees?

Shri S. K. Patil: What does the honorable member want? Does she want a little forest?

Smt. Manjula Devi: I am asking what about the illegal felling of trees?

Shri S. K. Patil: She is talking about illegal cutting of trees. It is bad. I would tell you one thing. There is a State which passed a law. But I think more trees are being cut in that State after the law was passed. That is Bihar. Let not my friends take it as an insult. This felling of trees has taken place there without permission. When it is permitted, that means we have made provision for cutting etc. for industrial and agricultural purposes.

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SPEECH OF THE MINISTER FOR FOOD AND
AGRICULTURE IN THE LOK SABHA ON THE
18TH APRIL 1961

PRODUCTION OF SUGAR

...The House will remember that about fifteen or eighteen months back when I took over, there used to be a debate every session on sugar, and Members used to say; prices are rising; this thing is happening, that thing is happening. Then I introduced a certain kind of incentive with the permission of the House. We increased the price of sugarcane from Rs. 1-7-0 to Rs. 1-10-0 or Rs. 1-62 nP. It is out of this little incentive that more sugarcane was expected to be produced.

The result of that was phenomenal. From 19 lakh tons we raised our production of sugar in the very first year to somewhere about 24.22 lakh tons and this year the production has gone to 29.5 lakh tons. The new problem is of surplus. Do you mean to say that agriculture is going to be so mathematical that the farmer has got to produce just the quantity he wants—nothing more, nothing less? The farmer is not a mathematician of that type. Sometimes he has got to produce a little more; sometimes he produces a little less. When he produces more, the problem arises. But we must be competent to deal with that problem; we cannot run away from that problem and say that this is because there is more sugar. I would any day prefer to have more sugar and face the problem than to have no sugar.

Some years back this country had to import 14 million tons of sugar on which it had to spend about Rs. 100 crores of foreign exchange. We had to do that, because there was demand for sugar in this country. With our supply of sugarcane, we can supply the whole world. That is the potentiality of India. Do you expect me to go to the foreign countries to import sugar? If more sugar is produced at once you call it a crisis. It is not a crisis; therefore, we must surmount these things. During my visit to the United States, I told my opposite number there: you must be a happy man, because you have got so much; you have no troubles, no problems. He said: I am more unhappy than you; my trouble is one of surplus; I do not know what to do. Every time the farmer says that he has 100 acres more to be



brought under cultivation, I have to give him a cheque for 1 lakh dollars and request him not to farm it.

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CONCLUSION OF BUDGET DEBATE 1962-63
ON THE 24TH MAY, 1962.

...I would give you the picture of the world, apart from the countries that live on rice. In western countries, one ton of wheat looks after a family of ten for one year; there are children in families, two or three; we have got children in our own families. Now, we are 440 million or whatever we are. Our 20 million tons of food, by that standard, is enough for 200 million people and I am quite sure that some day we shall get that number. We do not find it sufficient because we are eating grain and grain alone. Go to the South or Bengal where there are rice-eating people; the proportion of rice-eaters to wheat-eaters is 3 : 1; rice-eaters are three times compared to wheat. You will find a man gobbling even two lbs. of rice and yet feeling he has not eaten enough. If that is the concept of self-sufficiency or enoughness of food, surely, I do not subscribe to that at all. So also if you go to a wheat-eating province like the Punjab, one takes sometimes 50 chapatis in one meal and considers it as the bravest of all acts! A man feels he is very happy and strong because he has made, I do not know what, of these 50 chapatis. This must be borne in mind. It must be our constant endeavour in the Third Plan beginning from today. Self-sufficiency is not by taking more grain but by making our food more nutritious and more healthy by mixed cropping in the same area, etc.

I am very proud indeed of one thing. Three or four years before, during the past 10 years, we imported 14 lakh tons of sugar. Today I am sitting on the heap of 14 lakh tons of sugar in my own country. Between the two positions, this is a much better position. Somehow, flood is better than drought because flood brings some fertilising agents which are very useful.

NO CONFIDENCE MOTION—^{u2570} IN THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS!

[Discussion on the said motion moved by Shri J. B. Kripalani on the 19th August, 1963.]

Mr. Chairman: Shri S. K. Patil.

The Minister of Food and Agriculture (Shri S. K. Patil): Mr. Chairman, Sir, I am indeed grateful to the Opposition for this opportunity of a No-Confidence motion. Some of the people believe that this is not a very good practice, but I am very glad that the Opposition, at least for a change, have come together to move this No-Confidence motion so that both the Government and the Opposition will have an opportunity, an ample opportunity to say what they like. It is just like an annual spring cleaning which keeps the channels of democracy very clean. I for one welcome this opportunity because it gives me also an opportunity to state my case and state it in a forthright manner.

AGRICULTURE

Before I come to the Communist Party friends who have chosen me for the signal honour—I am very sorry that I have to share that honour with my hon. colleagues, but I can assure my other colleagues that they need not be jealous—I want to come to agriculture. I shall leave them for the time being because I have got first to put my case for Indian agriculture. I must not miss the wood for the tree. Now, it is very easy for anybody in this House, whether on the side of the Government or on the side of the Opposition, to simplify agricultural proposition. They are all experts in solving agricultural problems. They can magnify the defects if there are any defects and there are, quite true—and suggest solutions and give advice I have been receiving plentiful advice. I do not know where to keep it and if I really use every type of advice that is given, I think, I would have to end in a lunatic asylum.

Now, four years ago, I came on this present assignment. I never boasted that I knew anything about agriculture. Perhaps, I am the least fitted to be an Agriculture Minister because I was an urban man—I have never held a plough in my hand. But there was a challenge thrown at me and thrown at the country that the agriculture of this country has got to be improved so that our economy may be sound and our freedom may be real. If this predominantly agricultural country does not solve the question of agriculture, any of the other things that you might do are of no avail. When that opportunity came and when that challenge came, in all humility I accepted

it. I thought I would apply my commonsense to the solution of a great Himalayan problem which was Indian agriculture. When you talk of Indian agriculture, for God's sake, do not forget, apart from the largeness of the country where as much as 350 million acres of land are under agriculture, where no less than 70 to 80 per cent of the people are either partly or wholly dependent for their occupation on agriculture, where as many as 65 million families have got to be moved so that the agriculture could make any improvement—in a situation like this it does not remain a party matter, I thought agriculture was the one subject in which there is no political ideology. Don't my friends of the Communist Party want that our agriculture should improve? Do they want that it should always remain as it is and that they should have on occasion for No-Confidence motion? This agriculture during the last four years,—and particularly if I say four years it is only the period in which I have been handling it, or during the last 12 years ever since our planning began—has not agriculture moved? People come here and say for the sake of argument that it has become stagnant. In 1951, when our Plans started, our agricultural production was in the neighbourhood of 50 to 52 million tons.

If, from that, it has now come to 80 million tons, there is something like 50 per cent increase. This is not stagnation. Even the Communist Party has not moved so fast! As far as agricultural production is concerned, just to say that during all this time it has not moved or granted that it should have moved faster, there have been better results. I would have welcomed them myself. Many of them have quoted the figures. We have also become statisticians. Thanks to the study of statistics in this country, everybody quotes them and he knows that there are others who quote other statistics in order that the first statistics should be disproved.

I am just telling you that, apart from the fact that during the last 12 years we have been doing things in planned manner, some of them might say that the plan might be defective. But as it is, it has moved agriculture from 54 million to 80 million tons. In the worst of years, our production previously used to fall to somewhere about 45 to 46 million tons. In recent years—five or six years back—it fell to somewhere about 72 to 73 million tons. From that during the last five years, it has come to remain at 80 million tons. It is indeed not a sign of stagnation but is a sign of the continuous growth that agriculture in this country has been making.

Now, some of them say that during the last two years, it has not made any progress. Even some of the statisticians believe that every year it must register a progress like an industry. I want to disagree with the hon. friends here and outside. Agriculture no doubt is an industry.

But it is not an industry where year by year you register a continuous progress and continuous rise in the productivity. That is the one factor which is not there in any industry because there is climate, there is nature on which it has got to depend. Any industry can assure results if you give the raw material, labour and machine. So much come out of these. Is there an expert anywhere or such a bold man in this House to say that there is any country on the face of this globe where agriculture is not even to-day conditioned, after many scientific researches, on natural elements unless you have got a production which is more than 100 per cent of your requirements? In the U.S.A., the stock that they have got every year is about 3 or 4 times their annual requirements where they do not fail because they have got enough. In countries like Canada and Australia where the stock itself is about 2 years' consumption of that country or so, perhaps, these things are not availed. But in a country where we consume 100 per cent or 96 per cent we produce, we need something more. It is not correct to expect that in a country where there is stock there would never be a bad year or in a country which has registered every year an increase or has made great progress in agriculture, there would be surplus. It is ignorance. That cannot happen. Even in a country like the U.S.A., once I told this House, as recently as in 1958, there was a sudden spurt in the agricultural production—15 per cent in one year. They cursed themselves because there is a problem of surplus wheat in that country. But after two years, it went down by 12½ per cent and therefore, these ups and downs which are due to climatic conditions are there and they will always remain there, no matter how much irrigation you have got and no matter how many scientific inventions you have produced. In a country like India where during the last four years barring of course the last three or four months, agriculture has behaved in a manner which even this House has admired time and again. There has not been a single adjournment motion during the last four years.

You can see that all these four years the prices have been maintained. I do not know what would have happened to the Plan? It is not possible for the agriculture to behave in a uniform pattern; just as there are good years, there are bad years too. The last two years were particularly bad because in a cycle of years, agriculture must be judged by a cycle of years. In India, it is a cycle of five years and curiously enough, it coincides with the Five Year Plan! Therefore, sometimes it happens that in five years, one year the production is very good. It will be of the order of ten million tons as it was always before. You have seen it. But sometimes you will get a year where the productivity is low. Out of the five years, one is a very good year, one is a very bad year and the remaining three years are just like that—not good, not bad, somehow or other it keeps.

You may ask why this is not done and why all irrigation is not done. Many people have quoted figures "two thousand crores have been spent" etc. I do not know where two thousand crores have been spent. But assuming that even one thousand crores have been spent on major irrigation, have they seen the experience of the

world everywhere, not only of India but even of a country like the United States of America where agriculture has made so much of progress, where communications or services of agriculture are so quick that if a farmer produces anything within twenty-four hours everybody knows about it because there is television, there is radio, there are extension services and so on? We do not have those advantages in this country. But even then the progress that agriculture is registering year after year, over the five years is not insignificant. You can say it could be more. That is a different matter.

Now, then, what has happened? Here is the question in a nutshell of agriculture which one must understand. If I say so I do not say so with the object of apportioning any blame to anybody. This House understands, and I have made it clear time and again that agriculture is totally, hundred per cent, the subject and the responsibility of the States. It is not only not a Central subject but it is not even a concurrent subject.

I am merely saying this that after laying down the policy and other things, so far as the implementation is concerned, largely—I am not blaming the States—but largely, it is the responsibility of the States because, we cannot divest the States of the responsibility which constitutionally, legally, morally is theirs. It is for us to make plans, to suggest ways and means, to give them the money and the resources that they need. And to the extent that we make mistakes in doing that, surely we are responsible for it.

Now, mark it, this country, as I said, has 350 million acres to cultivate. It has got, as I said, 65 million families of these agriculturists. There cannot be any addition to the land available. Anything may increase, but the acreage in India cannot increase. Therefore, by intensive cultivation we have got to increase the per-acre yield. That per-acre yield during the last ten, twelve years has increased by anything from 15 to 20 per cent. It should have increased more. But this large immobile mass of 65 million families of agriculturists is not something which you can by a push-button method activate—that is, you do something here, either my Ministry does it or the Planning Commission does it, and the next day the 65 million families start working in a different manner. Surely they may not even be knowing what my Ministry or any other Ministry may be doing for that purpose.

Therefore you have got to be a little patient where agriculturists are concerned. These occasional demonstrations, every now and then coming and crying hoarse in the name of scarcity—as if some of them want the scarcity in order to base their argument that the Government is bad, they live on that scarcity—these things do create conditions which are not favourable to the agriculturists. And I can tell you one thing. Apart from what technology may do, what science and progress may do, what irrigation and fertilizer may do, the crux of the problem of Indian agriculture is that unless every farmer feels that agriculture is a remunerative job he will never do it, whatever you may do. Leave aside all your other arguments; they are not arguments that the farmer knows.

Therefore, the farmer has to be assured, to be convinced that anything that we tell him is ultimately, not only in the national interest—that comes next—but it must be to his personal interest, that it will increase his income. Today, modern techniques and science are employed in agriculture. What happens? Here is a man who was not spending more than even five rupees per acre. When all of a sudden I ask him to spend fifty rupees or hundred rupees per acre in order that his agricultural income should rise—I have to tell him “you must spend this hundred rupees”—can he spend it, unless he is sure that out of that hundred rupees he will make Rs. 150 or Rs. 200? In the first place he has not got that money. I must make that money available to him. And then, also, I must guarantee, there must be some kind of an assurance, whether it is crop insurance or other insurance, by which I can assure him that he will get much more than what he has spent. You cannot move that man in any other way. And that is the crux of the agricultural problem, that is, to make it economic. . . . to make it remunerative

Therefore, this is a question that is going on for the last quite a few years and we have been trying to do it. We have tried to make some revolutionary changes in agriculture which were not there before. We have come to this conclusion that in order to make these prices economic and remunerative, we must have, if not support prices, floor price or minimum price for every agricultural produce. And that is why you have seen during the last two, three years commodity after commodity is being tackled. Not only are we giving the prices, but occasionally we are raising the prices. We first dealt with cash crops. There were the prices for sugarcane, the price for cotton, the price for tea, coffee and everything, and prices for jute. And, coming to cereals, we began with wheat. Three or four years ago we gave the price of thirty rupees per maund, but within a year we raised it to forty rupees because we thought that thirty rupees was not remunerative. We gave Rs. 14-8 to rice but made it Rs. 16 immediately the next year, because we thought that we shall go on making it more and more remunerative and more and more economic. Then we gave prices to jowar—much neglected, but jowar is an important item being the staple food for nearly 27 per cent of the population. We gave it Rs. 9. When it became scarce it sold for Rs. 15 and Rs. 16, and when it was too much it was selling for Rs. 6 and Rs. 5. That was the condition of the farmer.

It is very paradoxical that sometimes we ask him to give more labour and to spend more money, to work hard on his feet. And when he produces more there is a price fall. In that paradox an honest farmer is not supposed to work. That is something which is not only supposed to be remunerative or economic, but that is something which will destroy the very prosperity of agriculture.

As we go along, what do we find? Prices of other commodities increase. I have been hearing of prices of cereals. Has anybody given thought to this that every other thing which is an elementary necessity in a farmer's life, in your life, in my life, has gone up in price? Is not the farmer a human being? Does he also not require

his kerosene, his cement, his plough and bullock? Anything that he buys must also be available at a price at which he can carry on his agriculture. Nobody gives thought to it, because it suits a political ideology to say something out of it, to get the grievances, get the miseries out of it and build castles on the foundations of that misery. That is exactly what the opposition party, and particularly the communist party has been doing.

Having done that, I say that that is not enough. Because after all, while I am looking to the future I must look to the present also; I must make it easy for my Hon. friend Nandaji, or the Planning Commission, that his plans must go on. It is a responsibility which is common, both his, mine and everybody's. Therefore, if I, merely start laying the foundation and wait for another ten years in order that the results should come, by that time the Third Plan, the Fourth Plan and even the Fifth Plan will go and it will become so very difficult that the plans might be successfully implemented.

Therefore the idea of a buffer came, this buffer stock, and these pilgrimages to which so much reference was made by my Hon. friend Shri Gopalan. But he forgets that I made a pilgrimage to Moscow also in order to wipe out the sins which I might have accumulated by my having made those pilgrimages elsewhere. Therefore, because I went to America, and if that becomes a place which is not a good place for pilgrimage, Moscow is such a delightful city that I want to go there every year if I am permitted to go, but unfortunately there are no surpluses of food there! I do not say anything, because I remember that Mr. Khrushchev personally is a good agriculturist, he knows agriculture as very few in this world know, but he has dismissed three or four Agriculture Ministers. Thank God, my Prime Minister has not done that! Otherwise I would not be here to put my case before this House. But even after dismissing so many Agriculture Ministers the agriculture of Russia has not made any headway. I am merely saying so, because agriculture is something which even Mr. Khrushchev has understood and he has given expression to it that unless there is freedom to the farmer, unless he knows he is a master, he cannot make progress. By regimented methods of agriculture and totalitarian methods of agriculture, agriculture does not improve. I thought Russia is a foreign country and therefore you would not be so very upset when I am stating the facts. I am not underrating it.

And therefore from the Russian statistics I shall come to prove to my friends that on a land which is a small bit of land of 0.4 acres, which is somewhere about one acre which is given to every family to cultivate and everything should belong to them, that income, that productivity of these lands is three times as high as all the other farms put together whether they are state farms or whether they are collective farms. In contrast go to Poland where 87 per cent of the land is still held privately. It is a different story altogether. I am merely stating them to show the difference between the totalitarian and our nation. The incentive is a great thing. Even after forty years of brain-washing, even in Russia the farmer finds that there is no incentive in the col-

They made Bombay the political barometer of India



SHRI PATIL & SARDAR PATEL

Shri Patil was immensely fortunate to have come under the inspiring guidance of the late Sardar at the formative stage of his life. The inborn qualities of young Sadoba were tempered and moulded according to the exact standards and high values of the Sardar. Patel and Patil had many things in common. Their patriotism was not an emotional urge; it was an intellectual conviction. Both were steeped in the ancient traditions of our country but both had the capacity to absorb the modern trends of thought and achieve a synthesis of the old and new. Sardar Patel was never tied down to any economic philosophy or political dogma. Patil is equally pragmatic in his approach to problems that confront our country to-day.



fair price shops. During the last one or two years, 5,000 more fair price shops have come up in this country and my instructions are that wherever the fair price shops are necessary because rice is not available, they should open them. We have got enough to give to the fair price shops. I may even repeat here that so far as labour is concerned, those who are in charge of labour should open more shops either on their own or with our assistance so that we may make it possible for our labour and working class people to go to the fair price shops and take advantage of these fair price shops. Therefore, if in the market the prices of rice rise a little bit, then, surely, we need not be perturbed because this is a phenomenon which is restricted to this lean period of 2 or 3 months and this, in the nut-shell, is the case of Indian food and agriculture. *The case of Indian food and agriculture is not a case of which one should be ashamed about. It is not a case that one should resign or somebody should ask that this Minister should go away from the Cabinet. It is a case that these Ministers have done their job very well indeed. I am not giving a certificate for myself. It is a certificate which anybody, at any time, in any circumstances, should have given for the way that the agriculture has behaved in our country.*

THE COMMUNIST PARTY

I now come to my friends in the Communist party. They seem to be very anxious and impatient. I was really wondering why they were picking, for their special honour my Hon. friend Mr. Morarji and myself and saying that these bad boys must go. After hearing it I became a little of a doctor and tried to analyse what is the malady in the minds of my Hon. friends. The malady has driven them mad to such an extent that even a very gentle and well-meaning man like Professor Shri H. N. Mukherjee who is so nice that sometimes he appears as if even butter would not melt in his mouth, all of a sudden, has to talk those words. And I am quite sure that he was very shy in uttering them. I was watching him very carefully. First, he said not Shri Morarji Desai or Shri S. K. Patil, but he said 'The Finance Minister and the Minister of Food and Agriculture'. I thought: 'What a good man! He did not mention me by name'. But, thereafter, because of the urge of the party and the responsibility that he has undertaken on himself, he said 'So-and-so', but he qualified it by saying that 'Shri Morarji Desai is my personal friend, and Shri S. K. Patil is a great personal friend, and he is good' and so on. He also added that he would like to enjoy a cup of tea and any other beverage. Then, I thought whether he really had administered to himself any hot beverage in the morning so that he should come here and say those things which, I am sure, in the best of his judgment, he would not say. I know him; he is a scholarly person; he reads and he understands things, but sometimes, this party line becomes very difficult and the man has got to say something because he has made up his mind.

I find a very significant thing, which I must share with this House, as to how this has come all of a sudden. I remember that some days back, our Prime Minister spoke

at a political meeting, at our party meeting, and he naturally said that there are some fascist trends in this country. Everybody understands him properly. There was no misunderstanding about it. He was referring to certain parties in this country; he was referring to certain fascist trends in this country. Within twenty-four hours I find that Pravda comes out with a big article on fascist trends, and instead of the persons whom possibly the Prime Minister wanted to refer to, it referred to other people also. Then, the scope was further narrowed down by 'His Master's Voice', from Shri S. A. Dange in Bombay, who while giving an interview said that there are fascist trends, and even the Prime Minister says so, and these fascist trends are inspired by some Congressmen. Naturally, some inquisitive newspaperman asked: 'Who are those people who are inspiring these fascist trends?' And he says: 'It is Shri Morarji Desai and the Minister Shri S. K. Patil'. Therefore, right from Pravda to Shri S. A. Dange, we find this, which was not intended at all; I do not think that in the wildest dream also that was in the mind of the Prime Minister. Possibly, that was not in the columns of the Pravda also. But we came in, because this is a very strange conception of the Communist Party. They have got certain assumptions. They have made them that this Government is a leftist Government; they have taken it for granted as if they control the policy of this Government, and therefore, they have got to keep the balance between the Ministers, and if the balance has been disturbed, the balance has got to be restored, and if one or two Ministers in whom they have faith have gone—surely, I am very sorry that they have gone; I am not suggesting anything about them—therefore, they must do something just like a goldsmith; when he measures his gold, either fourteen-carat or twenty-two carat, he must also be doing the same thing that if on one side it is a little, then he must add something more on the other side. And, therefore, my Hon. friend picked up on the very, very attractive heads of the Finance Minister and the Food and Agriculture Minister. But I am sure, and I can share that confidence with you, my friends, and that is this, that if the Finance Minister was not the Finance Minister but some other Minister, and if the Food and Agriculture Minister was the Railway Minister, they would have yet chosen the same persons and not the Food and Agriculture and Finance Ministers. Therefore, it is a tribute that they have given, and I very gladly accept that tribute. Now, I can understand this, I am merely saying so because this is a political thing; this is a question of ideology; it is not a question that the food policy has gone wrong; it is not a question that something else has gone wrong. They have made their pigeonholes as to which man to put where. Therefore, they assign places to us, saying, 'this man is rightist, this man is leftist, this is that ideology, this is this ideology, and they decide how this balance must be there so that they remain here where they were. When the Chinese aggression came, you should have looked at their faces. They know that they have lost their popularity, and somehow or other, they must get back that popularity in this country; that is what they

Samaj was registered in 1955. The Samaj is entirely a non-political organisation and will actively serve in every way the Indians spread over 40 countries of the world.

The objectives laid down in the Constitution of the Samaj have called for great initial efforts in the direction of mobilising resources and also finding a suitable accommodation wherein the different institutions contemplated could be housed. I must say with confidence, when I led a Delegation of the Samaj to East Africa, Aden, Ethiopia, Sudan and other South-East Asian countries, I could see that there was great enthusiasm among the Indian community to contribute most spontaneously and generously to make the scheme a success. The urgent need for a permanent international organisation in India to look after the welfare of the Indians abroad was fully realised in all countries and it is the enthusiasm of all the hundreds of thousands of people of Indian origin residing in these countries that is reflected in this International House today. The Samaj, even in a short period of its existence, of a little over a decade, has provided, within all limitations, facilities for the stay of Indians overseas, whenever they visited India and the utility of this service has been fully appreciated so far.

India, after the attainment of Independence, has changed rapidly and significantly and that is the outstanding feature of the present situation both politically and economically. There has been a mass awakening in all the countries of Asia and Africa following India's independence and the adoption of economic planning; and the freedom movements in all these countries are inspired and encouraged by the achievements in India. India has contributed in her own modest way to the liberation movements in these countries and in supporting their political and economic advancement. The names of Mahatma Gandhi, Father of the Nation, and our Prime Minister, Jawaharlal Nehru, are household names in Algeria, Ghana, Kenya, in fact, wherever there has been political awakening. Some of the leading precepts of Indian policy, particularly that of non-alignment, have been adopted by many of these countries. Indian planning is the beacon light to many of these nations. In this set-up, the problems of Indians overseas have also assumed a different complexion and India has a greater responsibility in understanding these problems and also in finding out ways and means of

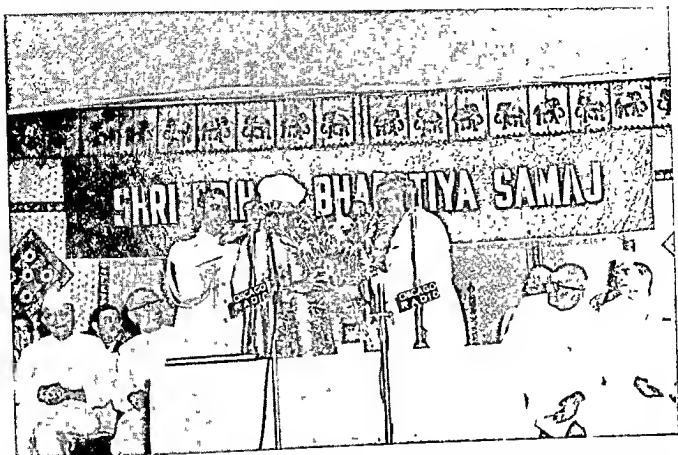
removing the disadvantages to which Indians overseas are subject to, even today.

I have particularly avoided going into the historical review of our freedom movement and our activities in regard to the struggle of our Indians settled abroad. This is well known. The simple biographical facts of many of our national leaders like Gokhale, Mahatma Gandhi, Rt. Hon. Sastri, T. B. Sapru and a number of others are to my mind more eloquent than my words to describe what our people have gone through in parts of the world abroad and particularly in the African region. In the period of colonial rule, it has meant for our pioneering Indians more than half a decade of humiliation inflicted upon them, of harassing legislation and ordinances, and offensive rules and regulations, of constant pin-pricks and many bludgeon-blows; all of them were borne with characteristic patience, forbearance and fortitude by our leaders in these countries and here in India. No doubt, we have obtained concessions through peaceful approach, in order to save thousands of our people from total ruin and final destruction. But, as I said political conditions have changed and new States have come into being with a sovereign status.

The formation of Malaysia is the latest addition to this list and the third largest population in this Federation are Indians. We do not have up-to-date information on the conditions of many of our Indians today who are settled abroad. There is no doubt that, wherever possible, the Indians have acquired citizenship rights and they are no longer Indians, but only people of Indian origin. But, quite a large number of them, particularly in Asia and Africa, have not been able to acquire citizenship owing to restrictive laws of naturalisation prevailing in these countries. They are facing grave political and economic disabilities and they naturally look upon us in India for sympathy and support. We have a duty by them to see that the dignity of human rights is established, in every part of the world. I am not speaking this only for Indians but we have to strongly resist any attempt to inflict racial and colour prejudices in any part of the world where Indians have had a stake.

The Research Centre of the Samaj would actively take up the survey of the conditions of Indians abroad in the most objective spirit and study the appropriate means by which the objectives of pro-

'Dr. Radhakrishnan, I have pleasure in offering this floral tribute to you on this occasion.....'



moting the economic and cultural link between India and other countries could be established. There are various and complex problems which affect Indians abroad in practising their professions and carrying on their economic activities which primarily relate either to agriculture, industry or trade and commerce. In all these, in the period of our economic growth, there is need for further expansion and promotion of mutual contacts for advantageous benefits for all.

Since the attainment of Independence following a rapid development of our economy in the sphere of communications, particularly in air transport, the number of visitors to India from foreign countries has considerably increased. Between East and South Africa and India alone, there is a traffic of not less than 20,000 Indians to and fro by sea route. The traffic through air transportation also has increased. This has naturally created problems of their reception, accommodation, customs and passport facilities, etc., which must all be solved so that they find their visit to this country both

comfortable and useful. The Samaj would naturally provide a friendly welcome to the visitors on landing in India and ensure comforts which they need during the period of their stay. I am sure the New India Transit Camp in this House would provide all these facilities. The International Hostel, named after Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, an architect of Indian Freedom and a valiant fighter against colonial domination, would provide accommodation for students from abroad, without any distinction of race, colour or creed. The Bhulabhai Desai Auditorium would provide the facility for promoting cultural activities. It could also usefully serve the purpose of organising international conferences in this city of Bombay, which with its cosmopolitan character and industrial and commercial importance, is the most suitable venue for holding such meetings.

I would like to emphasize that, though we may be pre-occupied, for a long time now with problems which affect the territorial integrity and independence of India, we cannot afford to absolve

ourselves of the responsibility of protecting the political, social and economic interests of Indians abroad in the altered context of the growth of the new States. We can no longer plead helplessness; while I am aware that we have endeavoured to do our best through the United Nations, we cannot take comfort that things are shaping well. We have also built up a spirit of goodwill and fellow feelings with almost all nations. But we will have to be vigilant and take serious note of all the trends that are emerging.

The foremost problem which India has to take up is the citizenship rights to all the Indians. Where can these brethren of ours go if they have to be kept in suspense and how long? It is reported that the laws of citizenship and special land and trade regulations are placing hardships upon the Indian population in some countries. I need not name these countries. I must, however, refer to the suffering and plight of the Indians repatriated from Portuguese East Africa. These Indians have been victims of Portuguese vendetta and have been humiliated in every possible manner and deprived of all their belongings. Such conditions which Indian settlers have to face hardly befit any civilised government and it is our duty to extend all possible co-operation and assistance in rehabilitating them. It is only a non-official organisation like the Samaj which could find out the true situation and present facts as they are for the Government to take such appropriate steps as it could to strengthen the amicable relations and get the disadvantages removed.

We must not forget that the history of the Indian emigration to foreign lands is ancient and dates back to 400 B.C. We have carried our culture, religion and literature into the farthest corners of the world. This stream of emigration has continued throughout history to the most recent period and reveals the adventurous and dynamic spirit of Indians to explore new areas for political, economic and cultural advancement. The Indian settlers had at all time kept the interests of the nations of their adoption primarily before them and worked for the progress of those countries. It was Mr. Winston Churchill, who paid a glowing tribute to the enterprise of the Indians settling abroad that "Indians were the soldiers who played an honourable part in the conquest and pacification of the East African countries; it was the Indian trader who penetrated and maintained him-

self in all sorts of places to which no other countryman could go and earn a living; the beginnings of trade and opening up of the first slender means of communications were all due to the effort of Indians; it was the Indian banker who supplied the larger part of the capital available for business." This is as much true of today as it was before independence and in the earlier part of this century. In the future pattern of development of the new States, Indians who have settled abroad have a crucial role to play and India, as the country of their origin, has greater responsibility in seeing that they identify themselves with the interests of the settled countries and give all their services to the advancement of these areas but consistent with human dignity, the basic rights of equality and the honour of our ancient motherland.

The problem of Indians in overseas is therefore of vital importance not merely to India but to the whole world, as it symbolises the movements towards equality of nations and equality of races, which we have accepted in the Declaration of the Human Rights in the United Nations. And as far as this question of Indians overseas is concerned, I have no doubt that the Samaj will, through all its activities, endeavour to strengthen the ties which unite India with the different parts where Indians are settled.

Ultimately, the essential problem is to ensure a better world, more human and more fraternal. 'There are many wonders of the world', wrote Sophocles, 'but the greatest miracle is man'. The words of this philosopher remain true in this effort of ours, no matter in which latitude or longitude we live in. We are against all distinctions that exist between nation and nation, between race and race, between community and community and between language and language. The greatest task of our time is precisely that of bringing about a mobilisation of all talents, of all energies and harnessing of all know-how, of resources and opportunities, to the amelioration of the social and economic problems which impose themselves on the countries which are rising, the countries of Asia, the developed and developing countries. In this great task, of elevation of humanity, of the living standards of the populations and of the promotion of the culture, of these areas, the Samaj will find its place and continuously strive for the fulfilment of our objectives.

—From the Welcome Speech on the occasion of the Inauguration of the N. K. M. International House on Tuesday, 1st October, 1963.

SOCIALISM & MORAL VALUES

Shri S. K. PATIL

Essentially modern socialism is the product of moral protest against exploitation which early industrialism introduced in countries of Western Europe. When industrialism, combined with scientific and technical inventions, emerged more vigorously during the 19th century, it subscribed fundamentally to material values. Profit motive became the main urge of capitalists and in the process of earning more and more profit human considerations were ignored. We have, therefore, the spectacle of even small children working for 16 to 18 hours in factories in England in the first half of the 19th century.

Great thinkers like Robert Owen in early 19th century were deeply concerned with the evil effects of industrialism. In a sense, Robert Owen was himself a capitalist and had made considerable profit from his own factories. But his conscience was disturbed. With the help of the wealth he possessed, he sought to establish an ideal society near Manchester, wherein man did not exploit man. Similar experiments were also conducted in France and Switzerland. Fourier in France and Sismondi in Switzerland tried to check the exploitative tendencies of early industrialism. Later great literary men like Galsworthy and Ruskin, through the power of their pen, strongly condemned the exploitation of the industrial age.

When pioneer socialist thinkers were indulging in most scathing criticism of early capitalistic society on moral grounds and endeavouring to build ideal societies, Karl Marx, who grew with the growth of early industrialism, sought to give a different twist to the process of socialistic thinking. He described all socialists other than himself as 'Utopian', characterising his own brand of socialism as scientific. The word 'Utopian', therefore, as used by Marx, was an abusive term. As a matter of fact, though Karl Marx was himself a great thinker and social scientist, he was basically an intolerant person. He would not tolerate any difference of opinion with himself. We have instances when Karl Marx having used very harsh language

in relation to some of the finest thinkers of his time.

With the concept of the dictatorship of proletariat forming an essential ingredient of his social doctrine, Karl Marx vitiated the democratic content of early socialism. In his Communist Manifesto, which he wrote in 1848 in collaboration with Frederic Engles, or in his subsequent books, Karl Marx eliminated moral values from the framework of his thought. In Marx's thinking moral values had no place. To him, man's place in the Society, whether it be the slave society of ancient times, or the feudal society of medieval times, or the capitalist society of his times, or the socialist society of the future to come, was only an inevitable product of history. Man was just a mechanical factor without any spiritual, moral, or intellectual independence of his own. Hence, democracy too is out of place under Marxism. It is true somewhere Marx refers to parliamentary democracy in England and says that at some stage it may be possible to bring about socialism by democratic means. But, this was just a passing reference. Marx made no effort to build his social philosophy on the basis of democratic set up. It is also true that in Communist Manifesto, Marx refers to the famous Paris Commune which was established in the third quarter of the 18th century and which had many democratic features. But in the same breath he contradicts it by emphasising the need for the dictatorship of the proletariat. He thinks that dictatorship is democracy—an illusion to which Communists since Marx's time have fallen blind victims. Although, in the tradition of philosophical anarchists, Marx visualised the ultimate withering away of the State, he had no clear idea as to how the State would wither away.

Lenin, as the successor of Karl Marx in the hierarchy of Communism, only rendered the Marxists thought all the more rigid, anti-democratic and anti-moral. To Lenin, democratic government was the executive committee of the bourgeoisie to exploit the working class. The Communist Party, being the vanguard of the social revolution, had the right to dictate what the people should do and should not do. Emphasising that ends justify the means, Lenin implied that even resort to deceit, fraud, murder was legitimate if it led to the realisation of the desired ends.

On these grounds, Lenin justified his intrigues for the violent overthrow of the democratic socia-

list government which Kerensky had established in the wake of abolition of Czarism in Russia.

When Stalin succeeded Lenin, he completed the anti-democratic and anti-moral process of communism by launching a reign of terror throughout the length and breadth of Russia. Addressing the 8th Congress of the Communist Party, Stalin stated that since in Russia all classes were abolished and hence there were no conflicting interests, there was no need of any opinion which was different from that of the Communist Party. Again in the name of the Party, he ruthlessly eliminated all top communist leaders who were his potential rivals.

I have briefly traced the history of marxism only to show that socialism, or for that matter any political creed or economic doctrine divested of a sense of moral values degenerates into human tyranny. To my mind, therefore, if socialism is to be generative of human happiness, it must uphold moral values. The essence of morality being tolerance, socialism must develop broad perspectives as to imbibe progressive features of societies other than its own. Socialist thinkers in Western Europe and Scandinavian countries have come round to this point of view. It is true that the exploitative character of capitalism cannot be retained under modern conditions, when the people are conscious of their rights. But certain progressive features of capitalist society which have become obvious in some of the democratic western countries will have to be appreciated. Even Karl Marx had to admit that capitalist society at certain stage played a progressive role. Stalin himself repeatedly referred to efficiency and dynamism of American capitalist society and held these characteristics as models for Russians to emulate. Further, it cannot be denied that modern capitalism has lost much of its old exploitative character. It would be a height of folly to think that all forms of private entrepreneurial efforts will have to be abolished in the name of socialism. Rethinking on the part of the Western socialists, therefore, is in the right direction. In a recent thought-provoking book "*Twentieth Century Socialism*" published by the Socialist Union formed by the intellectuals of the Labour Party in England, makes the following statement:

"The theories—whether revolutionary or democratic—which asserted that complete common ownership was the gateway to promised land, no longer carry conviction. Because socialism has be-

come identified exclusively with common ownership as a great panacea often means loss of faith in socialism itself. Though by far the greater part of British industry is still privately owned, we have a different economic system from that which existed a generation ago. What has been achieved is due not to the abolition of private ownership, but to all the various controls by which the rights of ownerships have, piecemeal, been limited."

Regarding the employer-employee relationship, Prof. Crossland observes:

"The basic factor is not ownership, but largeness of scale. Indeed, even in the capitalist economy, ownership has less and less relevance to the question of control. The same trend towards large-scale and complexity which alienates the workers from the means of production also alienates, the owners... The mass of share holders is even less able than the mass of workers to control and co-ordinate the highly mechanical, managerial organisation which alone can take decision. So far as status at work is concerned, the Marxist criticism of "proletarianisation" in direct sense that most employees work for wages in mass factory units, is of course as easily levelled at Soviet Russia as at the United States. What really matters is the degree to which management is autocratic or democratic, the extent of joint consultation and participation, and the freedom of the worker to strike or leave his job. In all these respects, the Soviet Worker is more proletarianised than the British worker... If the rate of capital investment in Russia is what they say, then world's first collectivist economy has extracted surplus value from its population on a scale never exceeded by any capitalist country in history"—mind you Marx described surplus value as the chief causes of exploitation.

We are irresistably driven to the conclusion from what happened in Russia and from the experience of the Western Socialist thinkers, who have actively participated in the socialist experiments in their countries that socialism can be as economically exploitative and tyrannical as capitalism unless, of course, it is tempered with human considerations, broad democratic spirit, capacity to imbibe progressive features of other societies and ultimately moral values.

Let us not, in our enthusiasm for socialism, forget this lesson of recent history. (1964).

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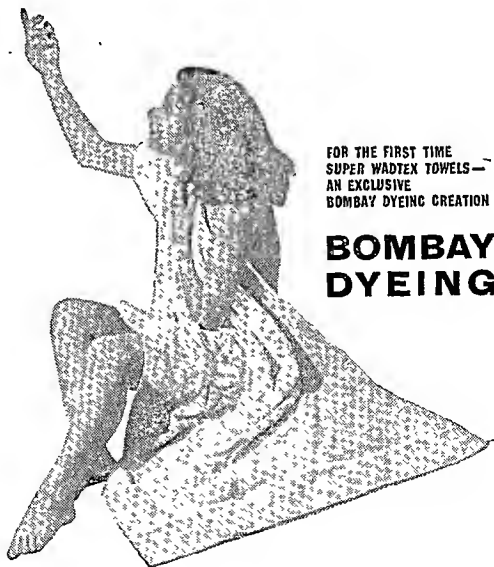
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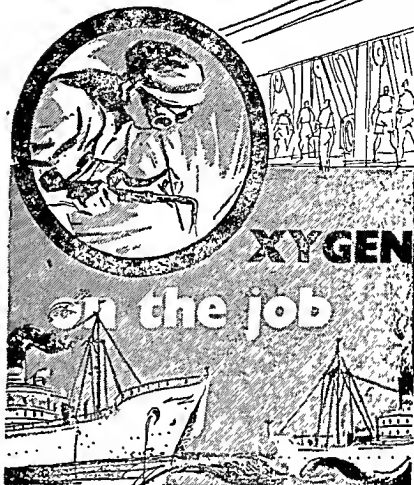
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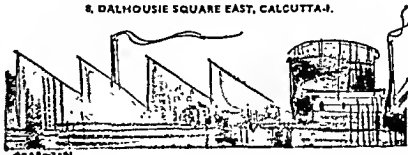
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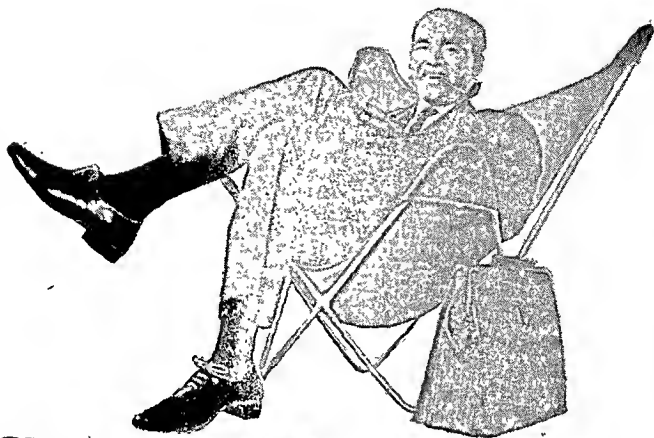


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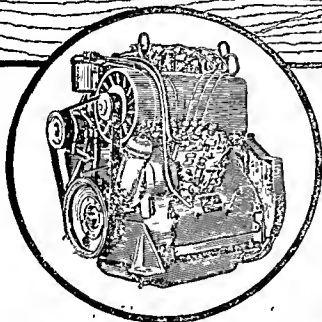
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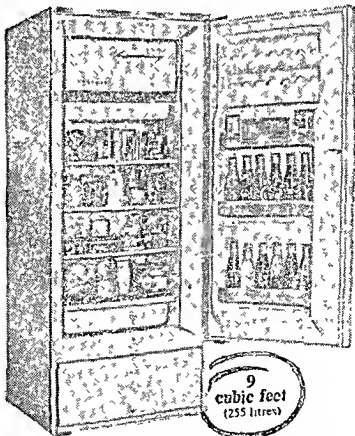
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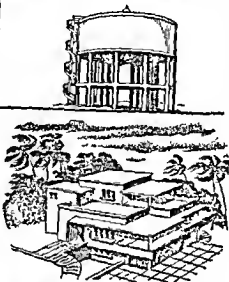
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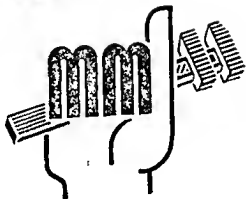
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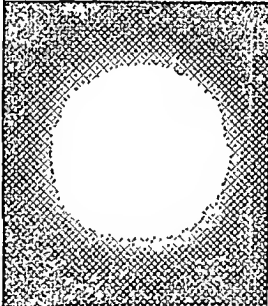
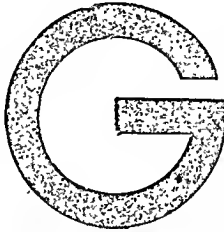
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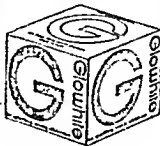
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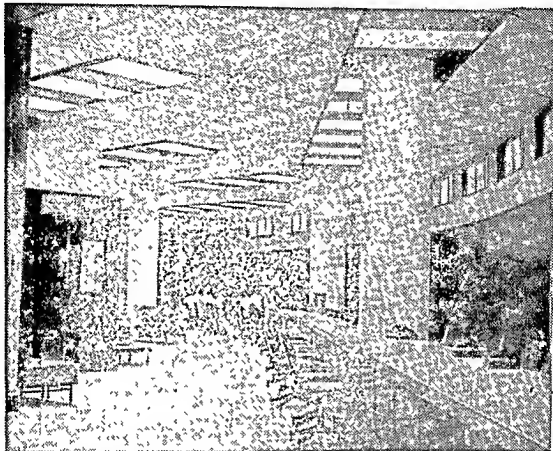
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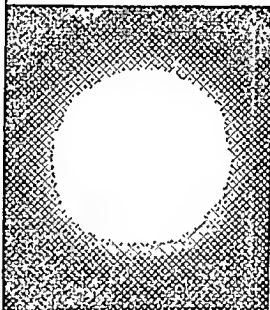
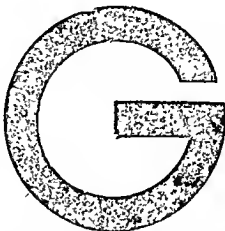
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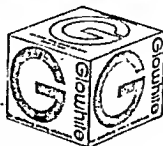
છે?

ગ્લોબ્લાઇટ કપડાંને અનિશ્ચય સહેજ બનાવવાર ખાસ પ્રકારનો બ્લાઇટનર છે. અમારી આધુનિક પ્રયોગ-શાળાઓમાં કરેલા અનેક વર્ષોના ફોરોપનન્ટ એ પરિણામ છે. એક ખાસ ફોર્મ્યુલા અનુસાર તે બનાવવામાં આવે છે. એથી અને એથી ખાતરી આપી શકીએ છીએ કે તે આપનાં કપડાંને ફોર્મિયુરીને નુકસાનકારક નથી. ગ્લોબ્લાઇટ સીધી આધુનિક અને ઉત્તમ છે.

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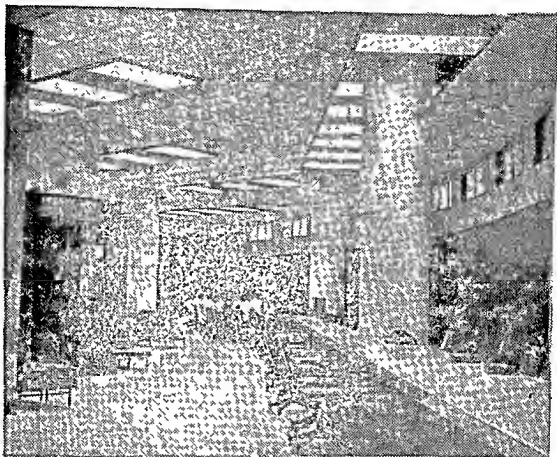
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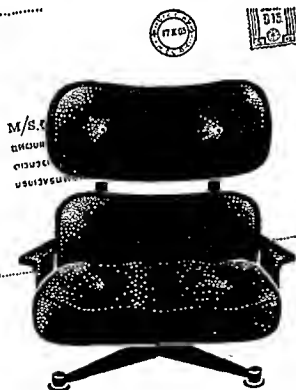
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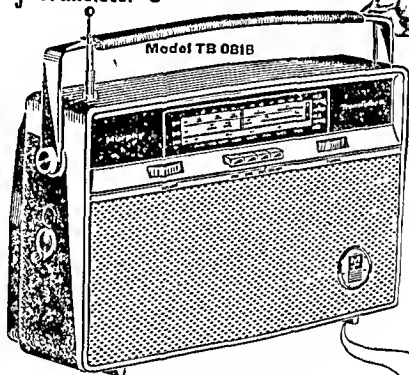
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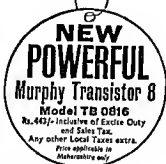


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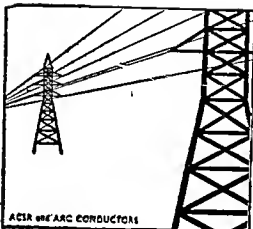
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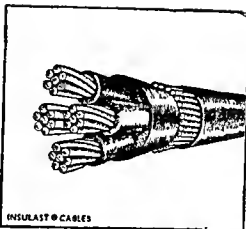
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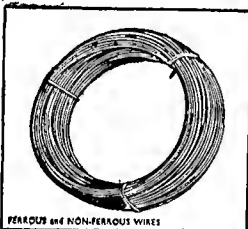
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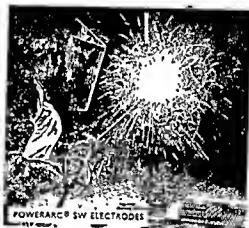
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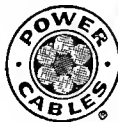


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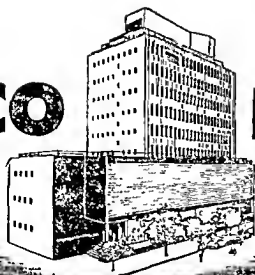
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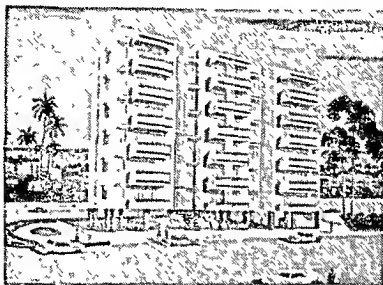
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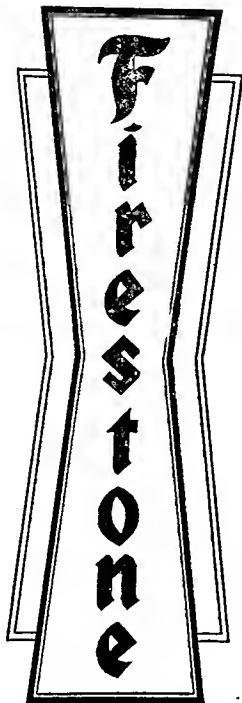
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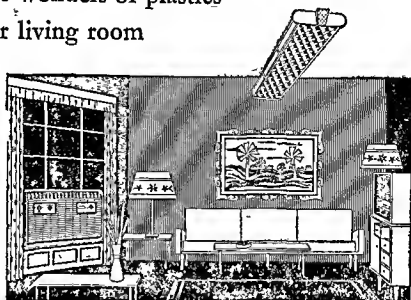


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